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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
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ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

BY GEORGE GRUB, A.M.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

It is more than nine years since I began the work which is now published, and which has occupied most of my leisure hours in the interval. The result may be quite inadequate to the time and labour bestowed, but those who are best acquainted with the task which I proposed to myself will be the most ready to make allowance for defects in its execution.

I have spared no pains in endeavouring to reach the best sources of information, and have made diligent use of all that were accessible to me. I have thus been able to correct many mistakes and to supply not a few deficiencies in the narratives of former writers. I cannot hope that my own work will be found to be without its faults; but I trust that, when they are pointed out, I shall be ready to acknowledge them, and—if opportunity be afforded me—to amend them.

It is only within the last few years that the original authorities for a large portion of the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland have been made generally available even to scholars. Unpublished materials of some importance would seem still to exist, as well in the Irish manuscripts from which Dr. Reeves has drawn largely in

his admirable edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, as in the Archives of the Vatican from which Professor Munch has derived illustrations for his late edition of the *Chronicle of Man and the Isles*.

I regret that for one part of my subject—the history of the Roman Catholic Church after the Reformation—I have not been able to obtain more adequate materials. I have been obliged to content myself with a few incidental notices of that portion of our more recent ecclesiastical annals.

I have to return my thanks to all who have assisted me in my enquiries. A more particular acknowledgment is due to two friends—without whose encouragement I might never have undertaken the task, and without whose aid I must have brought it to a less satisfactory termination—Mr. Joseph Robertson of the Register House, Edinburgh, and Mr. Norval Clyne, Advocate, Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN, *16th September*, 1861.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO SCOTLAND.

Early inhabitants of Northern Britain—Introduction of Christianity—Legend of the Conversion of the Scots in the time of Pope Victor—Legends of St. Andrew and St. Rule.

THE most accurate enquirers into the ancient history of our country are now generally agreed that the inhabitants of Northern Britain, at the commencement of the Christian era, were of the same Celtic race with those who dwelt in the southern division of the island. The Roman conquests necessarily introduced many changes. The civilization of Rome, as was usual, followed the march of her armies; but a far higher blessing also accompanied them. By their means, the Christian religion was introduced into our island.

The Roman soldiers repeatedly forced their way into the northern regions of Britain, and, more than once, were in occupation of portions of them; but the proper boundary of the Empire was never permanently extended beyond the Forth and Clyde. The comparatively civilised inhabitants of the country south of the friths became gradually estranged from the northern tribes. Even the name of the latter was changed—a circumstance which has been one of the most fruitful sources of dispute among our writers. While the Britons of the South retained their old name, the independent tribes

became known, first as the Caledonians, afterwards as the Picts.

In the beginning of the fifth century, the only nation, besides the Romans, which had acquired a permanent settlement in Northern Britain, were the Picts beyond the friths, and their countrymen, the subdued and partially civilized Britons occupying the region between the walls then known as the province of Valentia. In the course of that century, the systematic invasions of the Saxons began; and, early in the next age, the sons of Ere established the Scottish principality of Argyll. These nations, and in one case at least the several portions of the same nation, were converted to Christianity at different times, and under differing circumstances.

This is not the place for describing the conversion of the Southern Britons. The English historians have carefully investigated all that can now be ascertained as to the first preaching of the Gospel in our island. The early missionaries accompanied or followed the Roman legions, and as long as the authority of Rome remained, the strongholds of Imperial influence and power were also the chief seats of the Christian Church. But the preachers of the Gospel did not continue merely to follow the footsteps of the legionaries. They carried the glad tidings, which they were commissioned to bear, to portions of the island where the eagles of Cæsar never flew. It is almost needless to allude to the well-known passage of Tertullian.¹ The obvious meaning implies, that when the words were written in the commencement of the third century, some at least of the Britons beyond the Roman province had already embraced the Christian faith. It is most reasonable to suppose, that the number of believers must previously have been considerable, not only in Southern Britain, but in the country between the walls. There are few materials for ascertaining how far the Church had really been planted among the civilized Britons, and none whatever in regard to its progress among their still barbarous countrymen.

We are not told how and by whom this triumph of the Cross beyond the bounds of the Empire was won; but there can be little doubt that those who achieved it came from the adjoining province. It has been conjectured, and with con-

¹ "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita."

siderable probability, that it may have been effected by means of some of the numerous prisoners who were carried away in the fierce inroads of the Caledonians into the Roman dominions, towards the end of the second century.

But, though history is silent, one of the best known of Scottish legends probably took its rise from this event. The tradition among the inhabitants of Northern Britain, that their forefathers had, for the first time, been taught the faith about the end of the second century, it may reasonably be conjectured, gradually assumed the form of their conversion in the time of Pope Victor. This legend, as usual, took a more distinct form as it was adopted and improved by successive writers, and became so conspicuous a feature in our ecclesiastical history, as to deserve attention, even independently of the portion of truth which may have been preserved in it.

We are told by Fordun, that, when Victor I. was Pope, and in the year of our Lord 203, the nation of the Scots embraced the Catholic faith.¹ The chronological error in connection with Pope Victor, and the more important historical absurdity involved in this statement, have frequently been pointed out. There were then, probably, no Scots in Britain, and the northern part of the island was not called Scotland for centuries after. The simple account of Fordun is amplified in the pages of Boece. He tells us that, in the reign of the Emperor Severus, Donald, King of the Scots, sent ambassadors to Pope Victor, and obtained certain learned and religious persons, by whom he himself, with his wife and children, was baptised. The nobles followed the example of their king; and thus the Scots were converted, in the year 203.² We have here, in addition to the conversion itself, the manner in which it was brought about, and the name of the king through whom it was effected. Bishop Leslie simply repeats the narrative of Boece;³ and Buchanan mentions the conversion of King Donald, without saying anything of the circumstances of it, or referring to Pope Victor;⁴ but the

¹ *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall. lib. ii. c. 40.

² *Scotorum Historia*, ed. prin. lib. v. f. 89.

³ *De rebus gestis Scotorum*, ed. 1675, p. 108.

⁴ *Opera*, ed. Ruddiman, vol. i. p. 65.

story received its final improvements from Dempster, who relates that a certain Sicilian, named Paschasius, first preached the Christian faith in Scotland, by command of Pope Victor, and so many persons were converted, that there were not priests in sufficient numbers to baptise them. After this, Paschasius, leaving his companions behind him, went to Rome, and thanked the Pope, in King Donald's name, for his singular kindness. Dempster alleges Fordun as his authority for this narrative—found, he says, by the latter, in an ancient manuscript of the Church of Lismore, which was reckoned the metropolis of Scottish Churches.¹

Such is the legend of the conversion of the Scots in the time of Pope Victor, which long held its place as a portion of authentic history. Many of our countrymen clung to it, as they did to the accounts of the pretended forty kings prior to Fergus, son of Ere, and for the same reason. There is, indeed, as might naturally be expected, a great resemblance in the successive steps by which the kindred legendary fabrics of our civil and our ecclesiastical history arose. Of the same character with the gradual development of Fordun's statement in regard to Pope Victor, was the process whereby the much more extensive system of our fabulous civil history grew up, which has been so clearly and accurately traced by Innes, in his Critical Essay.

The ecclesiastical legend, so far as we can see, first took a definite shape in the pages of Fordun, although, no doubt, the belief in the great antiquity of the Scottish Church was prevalent long before his time. The similarity of the whole story of Pope Victor and King Donald to a well known event in English history is obvious, and there can be little hesitation in believing that the one gave rise to the other. Just as in the civil contest about the supremacy of England, so here also the Scottish writers were determined not to allow a much higher antiquity to their southern neighbours than they claimed for themselves. Eleutherius, the immediate predecessor of Victor, had been instrumental in converting the Britons.

¹ Appar. ad Hist. Scot. lib. i. c. 6, as quoted by Usher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*—Works, Elrington's ed. vol. vi. p. 149. Archbishop Usher thinks it necessary to assure his readers that he had not found the alleged quotation in the copies of Fordun which he had consulted.

“Why might it not as well be believed that Pope Victor did as much for the Scots? No doubt it might, if there were any good author for it. And why not? Doth not Archdeacon Veremund’s name sound as well as Venerable Bede’s? Might the one’s authority pass for a King Lucius, and not the other as well for a King Donald? Why might not the one remember things a thousand years before he was born, as well as the other five hundred? No doubt, so far they were in the right; and whosoever compares them will see that one of these stories was a pattern to the other. What our historians make Eleutherius do for our Lucius, the same does Hector Boethius make Victor do for Donald.”¹

There is another view in which the legend of the conversion of the Scots, in the time of Pope Victor, becomes important in our history. This is its connection with the notion of the Scottish writers relative to the mission of St. Palladius. Believing that he was sent to the Scots in Northern Britain, and being also persuaded that the national conversion had taken place more than two hundred years before, in the reign of King Donald, they had to account for the circumstance, that Palladius was called the first Bishop of the Scots. The explanation was, that before his coming, the Scottish Church had been governed by presbyters and monks, without bishops. This statement, in its turn, was taken up in another sense after the Reformation, and hence a belief in the legend of King Donald became identified with a claim for the authority of ancient usage in behalf of the system of Church government adopted by the Reformers. There will, hereafter, be occasion to consider this question more particularly.

All then that we know for certain, on the subject of the introduction of Christianity into Northern Britain, is, that at the beginning of the third century the province between the walls had already received the faith, and that the Gospel had even been preached in the free regions beyond the friths. No other memorial remains in connection with this century. The commencement of the following age was marked by the great persecution under Diocletian. The martyrdom of St. Alban, and other incidents connected with it in Southern Britain, are

¹ Lloyd’s Historical Account of Church Government in Great Britain, Pantin’s ed. p. 35.

well known. Whether the persecution extended to the province between the walls cannot be ascertained; the Imperial edicts had of course no effect beyond the Forth and the Clyde. Tranquillity was restored by Constantine, whose name was peculiarly dear to the Christians of Britain. Early in that season of peace, we find the first mention of British bishops assisting in the councils of the Church. Of the three bishops who sat in the Council of Arles in 314, none was from the northern province; the names of those who were present at Rimini in 359 are not given.

At this time we have no authentic ecclesiastical record referring to Scotland, but fable again occupies its place. The present is the fittest opportunity for alluding to the veneration paid to St. Andrew by the Scots. There are two legends on the subject, differing widely in date and circumstances, though sometimes confused with each other; and both may be told together. The earlier of the two is thus recorded by our historians.

In the reign of Constantius, son of the great Constantine, the holy Abbot Regulus, or Rule, by divine command, set sail from Patræ, in Achaia, where St. Andrew suffered martyrdom, bearing with him a portion of the relics of that Apostle. After a toilsome voyage through the Mediterranean, and along the coasts of the ocean, Regulus and his companions arrived off the Scottish shore, and were shipwrecked near the place where St. Andrews now stands. They got safe to land, carrying the relics with them. So many miracles were wrought, that the people gathered about them from all quarters, and Hurgust, King of the Picts, in whose dominions they were, built a palace for himself at the place, and gave certain lands in free and perpetual alms to St. Rule and his brethren. Regulus continued to instruct the people in divine truth, and died thirty-two years after his shipwreck, being old and full of days.

Such is the legend as told by Fordun.¹ Boece adds some farther particulars. He mentions that King Hurgust built a church, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, and endowed with many magnificent ornaments; and from that time the king's successors, and the Scots, when the whole land became theirs,

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. ii. cc. 58, 59, 60.

honoured St. Andrew as the patron of the kingdom. Various legends seem to have been current in the Scottish Church, relative to this event, some of which were mixed up with the second and later legend already referred to, and now to be noticed.¹

In the beginning of the ninth century, Hungus, King of the Picts, returning from a successful inroad into Northumbria, was surrounded by the army of the English King, Athelstane, near Haddington, at the place since called Athelstaneford. The Pictish King vowed that he would dedicate the tenth part of his kingdom to St. Andrew, if he escaped the peril. That same night the Apostle appeared to Hungus, and promised him victory. During the conflict on the morrow, St. Andrew's Cross appeared in the air; the Picts were victorious, and Athelstane was slain. Henceforth the cross of St. Andrew was assumed as their badge by the Picts, and after them by the Scots. Such is the substance of the legend as related, with some variations, by Fordun, Winton, and Boece.² Absurd as the story is, its authenticity is not questioned by Leslie, Buchanan, or Spottiswood; ³ the second of these merely attempting to get over an obvious difficulty as to Athelstane, by suggesting that he was a Dane, entrusted with the government of Northumbria by King Alfred. Usher and Lloyd point out the improbability of the narrative, and show that Buchanan's explanation only increases it.⁴

Whatever was the real cause of the veneration in which St. Andrew was held among the Scots, it is certain that the national belief on the point was of great antiquity, and was

¹ See "*Historia Beati Reguli et fundationis Ecclesiæ S. Andree*," an extract from the lost register of the Priory of St. Andrews, forming part of appendix, number vii. in the first volume of Pinkerton's *Enquiry*; also number xii. of the appendix to the same volume, "*On the devotion of St. Andrew among the Picts.*" The latter is styled by Pinkerton the first rude sketch of the legend of St. Rule, and is to be found likewise, with some variations, in Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. p. 187-190.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. iv. cc. 13, 14; Winton, vol. i. pp. 167, 168; Boece, lib. x. ff. 196, 197.

³ Leslie, pp. 168, 169; Buchanan, vol. i. pp. 89, 90; Spottiswood, *Spottiswood Society ed.* vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

⁴ Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. p. 257-259; Lloyd's *Historical Account*, p. 32-35.

frequently appealed to under important circumstances. In the course of the proceedings at Rome, before Pope Boniface VIII., relative to the claim of King Edward of England to the sovereignty of Scotland, the Scottish deputies maintained that their country had been converted by the relics of St. Andrew, and that, in consequence, their Church had ever been subject to the successor of St. Peter, the brother of St. Andrew, as its immediate metropolitan. And upon this ground rested the claim which Pope Boniface himself put forward to be Lord Paramount of Scotland.¹

The reverence paid to St. Andrew was, no doubt, in some way connected with the supposed Scythian origin of the Picts. That Apostle, according to ancient tradition, had preached the Gospel in Scythia, and by converting the Picts in Britain he only finished what he had begun while sojourning upon earth among their Scythian forefathers.²

It is to be feared that there are now no means of ascertaining the true history of St. Rule; probable conjecture is all, at the best, that can be looked for. Pinkerton thinks that Regulus may have been contemporary with King Hungus, who reigned in the beginning of the ninth century.³ Such, also, is the opinion of Mr. Joseph Robertson, who possesses a most accurate knowledge of our early ecclesiastical history. "In the beginning of the ninth century, St. Regulus or Rule, and his companions, brought from Byzantium, or from the coasts of Achaia, what were believed to be relics of the Apostle St. Andrew. Where the Greek missionaries touched Scottish ground, at Mucros or Kilrimont, in Fife, the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland afterwards arose; but they built their first church beyond the Mounth, apparently at Kindroghet, in the Brae of Mar, where they first met the Pictish King, and unveiled the treasures of their shrine, while he and all his host bowed themselves to the earth before it. A second church was raised at Monichi in Angus; a third at Forteviot in Stratherne; while Kilrimont in Fife was hallowed, like the Irish Glendalough, by its seven churches, built in the wide territory which King Hungus gave

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xi. cc. 38, 51.

² See *Historia Beati Reguli*—Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, ed. 1814, vol. i. p. 462, and *Scotichronicon*, lib. ii. c. 58.

³ *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 460.

to God and St. Andrew, by the symbol of a turf offered upon the altar.”¹

It is worth mentioning, in connection with the legend, that in the beginning of the ninth century, in the reign of the Emperor Nicephorus I., and not long before the date of Hungus’ accession to the Pictish throne, the deliverance of Patræ, from an attack of the Avars, was ascribed to an apparition of St. Andrew.² A Greek monk from Achaia may really have landed in Scotland at this time, bearing with him a portion of the supposed relics of the Apostle.

The most abiding memorial, connected with the name of St. Rule, is the church dedicated in his honour at St. Andrews. Dates have been given to this building more various than those of the legend of the Saint. Spottiswood, turning into certainty the conjecture of Boece, assigns it to the fourth century; others have been content to ascribe it to the ninth, connecting it, no doubt, with the later of the two legends. Mr. Lyon, in his *History of St. Andrews*, carries it farther back than this last period, but its true date may now be held to be ascertained. It has been identified with the basilica erected by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, between 1127 and 1144.³

¹ Quarterly Review, vol. lxxxv. p. 110.

² See Gibbon, c. liii. ed. 1820, vol. x. p. 106; and Finlay’s *Greece under the Romans*, p. 418, and *Greece and Trebizond*, p. 16.

³ See Quarterly Review, vol. lxxxv. p. 120, and Wilson’s *Scottish Archæology*, p. 613.

CHAPTER II.

ST. NINIAN.

FROM A.D. 360 TO A.D. 432.

Authorities for the Life of St. Ninian—Birth of St. Ninian—His education at Rome—His consecration—His return to Britain—Foundation of Candida Casa—Early monasteries—Conversion of the Southern Picts—Country of the Southern Picts—Miracles attributed to St. Ninian—His Death—Monastery of Candida Casa.

It has been seen that till nearly the end of the fourth century, all which is really known of the Church in Northern Britain is, that it was already planted in the province of Valentia, and that the Gospel had been preached to the free Britons, who were now distinguished by the name of Picts. At this period, the proper history of our Church commences with the life and mission of the first Christian teacher who is mentioned by name in connection with Scotland.

It is not easy to trace the real events of St. Ninian's life, and the true extent and character of his labours; but whatever can be accurately established, or even conjectured with probability, on these points, deserves our most careful attention.

What we know of St. Ninian is almost entirely derived from two writers, the Venerable Bede and Ailred of Rievaulx. The notice in Bede's Ecclesiastical History is the foundation, not only of what we have in later writers, but avowedly also of the narrative of Ailred. There is no reason to question the truth of this brief record. It is undoubtedly derived from tradition, as the words with which it commences imply, but there was nothing to hinder it from being accurately handed down to the time of the historian. There was an interval of only three centuries, between the death of Ninian and that of Bede. When the Ecclesiastical History was written, Candida Casa, the residence and burial place of Ninian, was occupied by the English. Bede was intimate with Peethelm, the first Bishop of the restored see, and could learn from him all that

was known of the Saint among the neighbouring Britons. His position at Jarrow, his vicinity to the Scottish foundations of Melrose and Lindisfarne, and his opportunities of intercourse both with the Pictish and the Scottish kingdoms, gave him ample means of acquiring information.

It is more difficult to say how far the narrative of Ailred is to be relied on. It was written in the middle of the twelfth century, more than seven hundred years after the death of Ninian; and, though it professes to be founded on an ancient British or Irish Life, there are no means of ascertaining the date of this earlier composition. Ailred was of himself sufficiently inclined to credulity. A successful author, he loved the labour of writing for its own sake, and was disposed, on all occasions, to make the most of his subject; and here he was particularly led to do so, as the work was composed at the request of the canons of Whithorn. On the other hand, Ailred had the best opportunities, both of consulting such written materials as then existed, and of ascertaining the oral tradition of Galloway. Some authentic information may have been derived from these sources, in addition to what he obtained from Bede; but whatever the precise extent of it may have been, it must bear a small proportion to the amount of fictitious narrative with which it is overladen.

St. Ninian is supposed to have been born about the year of our Lord 360. The place of his birth was within the Roman province between the walls, and the precise locality was either the coast of the modern county of Wigton, or the opposite shore of Cumberland.¹ His father was a British prince—one of those chiefs whom Roman policy allowed to retain a subordinate rule over their countrymen. Being a Christian, he brought his son in infancy to the baptismal font. When

¹ The date can only be conjectured from the future events of his life, but that commonly assigned cannot be far from the true one. The place is thus described by Ailred:—"in ea ut putatur regione, quæ in occiduis ipsius insule partibus (ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens et ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit) constituta, usque novissima ad Anglorum tempora, proprium habuisse regem, non solum historiarum fide, sed et quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur." *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia—Vita Niniani*, c. i. The description is as applicable to Cumberland as to Galloway, but his subsequent connection with Whithorn is a reasonable cause for preferring the Scottish rather than the English district.

approaching to manhood, Ninian was desirous of visiting Rome, for the purpose of religious improvement; and, leaving his native island, he bent his way towards the city which was then the metropolis both of the Western Empire and of the Church.¹

Although he came from the farthest boundary of the Empire, there was little peril in the journey. Two centuries afterwards, when St. Augustine set out on his mission to convert the heathen Saxons, the route from Italy, even to the nearest part of the British coast, was difficult and dangerous; but, at this time, Rome was of comparatively easy access from Britain, and the yet vigorous rule of the Empire allowed a degree of regular intercourse between the various portions of the Church, such as we have only seen restored in the present day. There is, then, no reason to disbelieve either the journey itself, or the ready and friendly reception which Ninian found at Rome, but beyond this only a few leading incidents can be traced.

It is supposed that he arrived at Rome during the episcopate of Damasus, and we know from Bede that his education was completed there.² After a prolonged residence in the city, he received episcopal consecration from the Pope, in order to his returning as a missionary to Britain.³ On comparing together the events of his life with the incident immediately to be noticed of his visit to Tours, his consecration must have taken place about 397,⁴ in the end of which year, according to the most probable opinion, St. Martin died; and the Pope by whom he was raised to the episcopate was in that case Siricius, the successor of Damasus. Immediately after his consecration, as it would appear, he left Rome, on his return to Britain, but desirous of seeing St. Martin, whose name was famous throughout the West, he visited Tours on the way, and received a friendly welcome from the Bishop.⁵ On his arrival in Britain, Ninian was well received by his countrymen, and fixed his episcopal see in the remote district which was probably his birthplace, and which was least likely to be

¹ *Vita Niniani*, c. i.

² *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.*

³ *Vita Niniani*, c. ii.

⁴ See Innes's *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. 39.

⁵ *Vita Niniani*, c. ii.

disturbed by the contending armies of Picts and Romans. Here he built of stone his famous White Church, and dedicated it to St. Martin, the intelligence of whose decease had now reached him in his new abode.¹

When he returned to Britain, Rome still held her old dominion in the island, but her real power was waning. The successive steps which led to this decline, and its result in the recall of the legions, all took place within the seventy years of Ninian's life. The year assigned to his birth marks the first appearance of the Scots in arms against the Empire. This was in the end of the reign of Constantius, and while Julian was meditating his apostasy and revolt. During the reign of Valentinian, the Picts and Scots united in an invasion of the Roman province, the most formidable which had yet taken place, but tranquillity was restored, and the authority of Rome re-established by Theodosius, the father of the Emperor of that name. It was at this time that the province between the walls was called Valentia, either from the Emperor himself, or from his brother and colleague, Valens. In the feeble reign of Honorius, the assaults of the Picts and Scots were renewed, and this was the time of Ninian's return. As has been mentioned, he fixed his see in a place which from its situation was not likely to be exposed to the invaders.

The church which he erected of itself deserves special notice. It was of stone, as Bede tells us, after a way unusual among the Britons. The expression here used, from the time of Ailred downwards, has generally received a stricter interpretation than is altogether correct. It has been said that this was the first British church which was built of stone, but such obviously could not have been the case. In the various cities of Britain, even in those of Valentia, its most northern province, there must have been churches, as there were other buildings, of stone, though in the more remote parts, away from the immediate influence of Roman civilization, it is indeed probable that the churches then, as afterwards, were for the most part of wood. The story of St. Ninian having brought masons from Tours is either the invention of a later age, borrowed perhaps from the request really made to the Abbot of Jarrow, by Nectan, King of the Picts; or he may have brought, not

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.* Vita Niniani, c. iii.

the actual workmen, but a skilful architect from Gaul, just as at the present day a Canadian or Australian bishop might do from Britain. In the secluded neighbourhood of Whithorn, there may have been no other church of stone besides Candida Casa, and so the tradition may have originated.

As Candida Casa was intended by St. Ninian to be the centre of his missionary exertions, and as the youth of the country were entrusted to his care by their parents,¹ he erected a monastery as well as a church, and gathered round him a religious community, whom he trained to assist in his labours. That a monastery existed, known by his name, and famous as one of the chief ecclesiastical schools of Britain, we learn from authorities to be afterwards alluded to, and there is every reason to suppose that it took its rise from Ninian himself. He must have been familiar with such an institution, were it only from his visit to St. Martin; and if not indebted to that bishop's aid for the material fabric of his church, there can be little doubt that he sought to establish at Whithorn a spiritual community on the model of what he had seen at Tours. These early monasteries were not merely religious retreats; they were schools of education, and in a special manner the seminaries of the clergy. We are thus indebted to St. Ninian, not only for his labours among his countrymen, the Britons, and for the conversion of the Southern Picts, to be immediately mentioned, but also for the introduction amongst us of that special form of the monastic institution, by which religion was originally planted, and afterwards preserved, in many parts of Britain and Ireland. It would be interesting to trace the various channels through which the monastic discipline was derived; to watch its progress from Tours to Whithorn, and from Whithorn to Ireland; or again from Tours, and Auxerre, and Lerins, by means of St. Patrick, to Ireland, and thence to the holy men of Iona and Lindisfarne.

While the service of God was celebrated, and clergy and laity were trained to their duties, within the church and monastery of Whithorn, St. Ninian also went forth among the Britons of Valentia, to strengthen in the faith those who were already converted, and to bring such of them as were still in darkness to the light of the Gospel. In these labours

¹ Vita Niniani, c. x.

he probably spent several years, but there are no means of ascertaining what precise time elapsed before he commenced the great work of his life. That work—the event for which his name more especially deserves to be had in remembrance—was the conversion of the Southern Picts. The particular circumstances of this conversion, like those of other portions of his history, are, for the most part, unknown; even the precise locality of these Picts is a matter of dispute; but there cannot be the slightest doubt of the fact itself. Independently of the express testimony of Bede, the universal tradition of the country could hardly have been mistaken on a point of this description. Whatever can be ascertained on the subject should possess the deepest interest for every Scottish Christian; and to the consideration of it attention may now be directed.

Who, then, were these Southern Picts converted by St. Ninian, and where was their country? It is supposed by some that the Picts were at this time in possession of Valentia, and that they were the people alluded to. That Valentia was suffering from Pictish invasion is certain, but there is no good reason to believe that these invaders were in permanent occupation of any part of the province. Neither did the Scots occupy any portion of it, though it appears to have been the opinion of Fordun, that those converted by St. Ninian belonged to that nation. But this is merely an opinion, adopted by him in accordance with the supposed early conversion of the rest of the Scots, to which he alludes.¹ Another supposition is, that the Southern Picts of Bede were the Britons of Valentia. This is supported by Chalmers,² but it is irreconcilable with the best evidence. The Britons of Valentia had been previously converted as a nation, though doubtless imperfectly, and with many among them still holding their old Pagan superstition. It is opposed to the authority of Ailred, who mentions, in the first place, the foundation of Candida Casa, and the labours of Ninian among his countrymen, the Britons, then relates the conversion of the Southern Picts,

¹ “*Australium quoque regni partium ultra fretum Scoticum prædicavit gentibus, quæ nondum cum aquilonalibus Scotis Christi legem suscipere meruerunt.*” *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 9. “*Ultra fretum Scoticum,*” with the priest of St. Andrews, means the country south of the Forth.

² *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 315.

and concludes with the return of the Saint to his proper Church of Whithorn.¹ All this contradicts the notion that the country of these Picts was the province of Valentia, but points clearly to the fact that Ninian left that province in order to their conversion, and returned to it when his work was accomplished. The opinion referred to is also at variance with numerous passages in Bede, including the well known one already mentioned.² The notice of St. Ninian in that passage is introduced incidentally, and in connection with the conversion of the Northern Picts by St. Columba. He tells us that the latter Saint came from Ireland, for the purpose of preaching the word of God to the Northern Picts, who were divided from their Southern brethren by a steep mountain range; and he adds, that the Southern Picts within these mountains had long before been converted by St. Ninian. In another passage, referring to the retreat of Bishop Trumwine from Abercorn, after the death of King Egfrid, he alludes to the frith which formed the boundary between the Picts and the English.³ The former of these passages clearly shows that the Northern and Southern Picts were separated from each other by a mountain chain, and that the Southern Picts were separated from the English by a frith. The mountain boundary is identified with a portion of the range now called the Grampian Hills; and the frith, on which Trumwine's monastery was situated, is, of course, the Frith of Forth.

All this leads to the conclusion that the nation converted by St. Ninian was that division of the Picts which inhabited the country between the Frith of Forth and the Grampians; and that conclusion is in accordance with the opinions expressed by Usher, Lloyd, Pinkerton, Ritson, Lanigan, and, in the main, by Innes.⁴

The question which has been discussed is intimately con-

¹ Vita Niniani, cc. ii. iii. iv. v. vi.

² Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

³ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 26.

⁴ Usher, Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works, vol. vi. pp. 202, 207; Lloyd's Historical Account, p. 106; Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 74, 255, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266; Ritson's Annals, vol. i. p. 105, vol. ii. p. 141; Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 45, 70; Innes's Critical Essay, p. 82, compared with his History, p. 131.

nected with the obscure and difficult subject of the history of the two great divisions of the Pictish nation. The mountain boundary between the divisions has just been alluded to. This particular point is very fully and accurately examined by Innes, who explains the branches and position of those hills "called by Tacitus and others after him Mons Grampius—whence Granzebin; by Adamnan Dorsum Britannia, commonly Drum-Alban; by Bede *ardua et horrentia montium juga*; by an anonymous author of the Description of Albany or Scotland mons qui Mounth vocatur qui a mari occidentali usque ad orientale extenditur." The conclusion he comes to is the following:—"As that branch of the Grampians that goes from Atholl to Clyde divided the Scots from the Britons and Southern Picts, there must have been a second branch of it from Atholl towards the north-western coast of Knoydart or Aresaig, to separate the Scots from the Northern Picts. The third branch of these hills, so well known by the name of Cairn of Mounth, was those high hills that, according to Bede, divided the Southern Picts, converted by St. Ninian, from the Northern, who received the faith from St. Columba." ¹

The mistake, formerly so common in regard to the country of the Southern Picts converted by St. Ninian, was in part owing to the situation of his see of Candida Casa. It was supposed that his see must have been in the country of those whom he converted. That it was not so in reality has already been shown, and there was nothing so unusual in the situation as to justify the conclusion which was drawn from it. It was, no doubt, the case that the teachers, by whom the chief Celtic and Teutonic nations were converted, generally fixed their seat among those whom they instructed in the faith. So it was with St. Patrick, St. Augustine, St. Boniface, and our own St. Aidan. But there was no necessity for this, especially where the residence of the teacher was in the neighbourhood of his converts. St. Columba was Primate of all the Churches

¹ Critical Essay, pp. 83, 84, 86, 87. In connection with the Mounth, and the not very accurate name of Grampians, taken from the Life of Agricola, and applied to these hills for the first time by Boece, reference may be made to the remarks prefixed to the *Brevis Descriptio Regni Scocie*, in the fourth volume of the Miscellany of the Maitland Club.

of the Northern Picts, but he did not permanently reside among that nation. St. Ninian had ready access to his Pictish converts, and could govern them as easily from his White Church on the Solway, as Columba could instruct and rule the Northern Picts from his monastery in Iona.

Little remains to be said about the conversion of the Picts. As with many other great events in the history of the Church, the details have not been handed down to us. Pinkerton is angry with Ailred for his silence on the point.¹ The Abbot of Rievaulx has probably told us all he had to tell. The passing over the particular circumstances of the conversion, where such could be ascertained, in order to dwell almost exclusively on miracles, is characteristic rather of the Celtic biographers of an earlier date than of the English Cistercian of the twelfth century. That Ailred did not seek to add to his original materials in this respect is a proof of his veracity. The single chapter which is devoted to the subject is mostly filled with a piece of rhetorical declamation, after what appears to have been a favourite fashion of the author. This is followed by a statement that Ninian proceeded to ordain presbyters, consecrate bishops, arrange the other ecclesiastical offices, and divide the whole land into distinct dioceses.² It is just possible that this may be true, and that Ninian, in the newly converted country of the Picts, followed the recognised rule of Roman Britain, but it is more likely that the account is an invention of later times.

One important point in the history of St. Ninian has yet to be alluded to—the miracles which he is said to have performed. It is needless to remark that the subject, viewed in its general aspect, is beset with difficulties, but these do not require to be considered in the present case. There is no sufficient authority for any one of the particular miracles ascribed to Ninian. We have no evidence for them earlier than Ailred. Admitting that he followed faithfully the written

¹ *Vita Niniani*, p. 12, note; *Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 266.

² “*Cepit deinde sacer pontifex ordinare presbyteros, consecrare episcopos, cæterasque ecclesiasticorum graduum distribuere dignitates, totam terram per certas parochias dividere.*”—*Vita Niniani*, c. vi. I have given to “*parochia*” its old ecclesiastical meaning, and what seems to be the one implied; but it is proper to mention, that in another passage of the *Life*, Ailred uses the word in its modern sense.—See c. v.

monuments which he consulted, or the tradition of Galloway, we do not know the date of the records, and cannot allow a remote tradition, as to occurrences of this description, to possess the authority which it may justly claim in regard to the conversion of a nation, or the more prominent circumstances in the life of an individual. But viewed as moral lessons, and such perhaps was their real object, there is much to admire in some portions of the legendary narrative. "There is beauty in the story of the child-fugitive, saved from drowning by the Saint's staff, which he had carried away with him in his flight, and which, being planted, budded into a tree, watered at the roots by a crystal fountain; for it symbolises not unaptly the guardian influence and the happy fruits which the discipline of youth, by the wise and good, bequeaths to maturer years. Of a still higher cast of moral beauty is the lesson latent in the legend of the rain. St. Ninian was out walking with a brother of the monastery; at a certain spot they halted, opened their psalters, and began to read. While thus employed, a sudden shower came on, but it wetted them not. The air formed round them into a protecting vault, and not a drop fell through. But presently St. Ninian lifted his eye from the page, and a light thought—'cogitatio illicita'—crossed his mind. Anon the rain's falling both upon him and his book attracted the attention of his companion, who conjectured the cause, and gently expostulated. Ninian returning to himself blushed, and forthwith dismissing the idle phantasy was exempt from the wetting as before. A parable such as this, though in the dress of a miracle, may surely escape derision. Allegorically construed, it is the vehicle of high truth. It speaks of that protection which encompasses the just—of the tenure on which it depends—of the negligence whereby it may be forfeited—of the need, common to the strongest and the weakest, to 'watch and pray, lest they enter into temptation.'"¹

We do not know what time was occupied in the conversion of the Southern Picts, or how the good work continued to be carried on during the life of its author. We are told that St. Ninian returned to Candida Casa after his great task had been

¹ Ecclesiastical History of North Britain (by the Rev. Mr. Rorison)—Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. ii. p. 122.

accomplished,¹ but it does not follow that he never revisited the Southern Picts. It may fairly be assumed that, while his regular abode was at his British monastery, he occasionally returned to see how his children beyond the Forth were growing up in the faith. His death took place at Candida Casa, and there also he was buried. The date of his departure is not mentioned by any good authority, but that generally assigned is the year of our Lord 432.²

For many ages Ninian was venerated as one of the greatest of British saints. In the time of Bede, Candida Casa was illustrious as the place where his body reposed.³ Especially in Scotland was this veneration paid; and among the common people he was long known under the name of St. Ringan. Numerous churches and chapels were dedicated to him, extending from his own Solway to the remote shores of Zetland, and on the sixteenth of September he was commemorated in the offices of the Church as the apostle of the Picts and Britons. His tomb continued till the Reformation to be one of the most famous pilgrimages of the North.⁴

We have no direct record of anything farther connected with the see of Candida Casa, till its restoration by the English in the beginning of the eighth century. But we know from Irish authorities, (if the explanation to be immediately mentioned be correct,) that the monastery of St. Ninian continued to be famous. We are told that several of the saints of Ireland were sent for their education to the monastery of the holy bishop, Monennus or Nennio, in Britain, called also the Great Monastery, Rosnat, and Alba. Colgan is of opinion that this was the British monastery of Bangor, but Lanigan, with more reason, thinks that it was Whithorn.⁵ The same

¹ Vita Niniani, c. vi.

² Ibid, c. xi. Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4. Usher, Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works, vol. vi. pp. 209, 568. Innes's History, pp. 44, 45. There is an Irish Life of St. Ninian, mentioned by Usher, which relates that he died in Ireland, but this statement is improbable.

³ Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.

⁴ For an interesting notice of the pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Ninian, see Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 412-414.

⁵ Colgan, Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, p. 439. Lanigan, vol. i. pp. 437, 438. "Dr. Lanigan concluded that Monennius, or Nennio, was no other than Ninia, the founder of Candida Casa. . . . Besides the coincidence of *Candida* and

conjecture had been made by Cressy, and its correctness had been acquiesced in by Innes.¹ The latter supposes that Bishop Nennio presided over it at the time when the Irish students were sent thither, but it is much more probable, as Lanigan suggests, that they were said to be sent to the school of Nennio or Ninian, because he was the original founder.

How long the first church and monastery of Whithorn lasted, or whether they were ever entirely extinguished, we have no means of knowing. Their restoration by the English of Northumbria will be afterwards related.

Alba, it might have been added that the Gaelic name *Rosnat*, *promontory* of learning, agrees with the Whithorn or Whithorn, *Candidum Cornu* of the Northumbrians." (Herbert's Introduction to the Irish version of Nennius, p. 5.) Giraldus Cambrensis mentions a tradition (to which Lappenberg attaches a certain degree of credit) that in ancient times there were five metropolitan sees in Britain, according to the number of the Roman provinces, each having twelve diocesan churches subject to its jurisdiction. The metropolis of Valentia was the city formerly called Alba, the same, as Giraldus conjectures, which in his time was named St. Andrews. Whatever truth there may be in this tradition, it is evident, both from the name and the situation, that Alba was not St. Andrews, but Whithorn. See Giraldus Cambrensis *de jure et statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. pp. 541, 542, and Lappenberg's *History of England* under the Anglo-Saxon kings, Thorpe's translation, vol. i. p. 50.

¹ History, p. 114.

CHAPTER III.

ST. PALLADIUS AND HIS DISCIPLES.

FROM A.D. 432 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Mission of St. Palladius—His arrival in Ireland—His residence among the Southern Picts—His death—Controversies about the mission of Palladius—St. Serf—St. Ternan—Alleged foundation of the Church of Abernethy.

ABOUT the very time that St. Ninian died at Candida Casa, a stranger bishop arrived in the country of the newly-converted Picts, as if to supply the place of their first pastor. This was Palladius, who had just left the scene of his unsuccessful mission in Ireland. Full of difficulties as our ecclesiastical history is, and on so many occasions giving rise to controversy, there is hardly any one incident in its annals, which has been made the subject of such dispute as the character and object of the mission of St. Palladius.

Allusion has already been made to the great changes which took place in the Roman Empire during the lifetime of Ninian. Before he died, the dominion of Rome was practically at an end in Britain. Writers have contended about the true era of British independence. It is not possible now—perhaps at the time it would not have been possible—to point out the precise date, or the particular act, that severed a connection which had lasted for more than three centuries. The central power of the Western Empire was waxing yearly more feeble, the provincials were anxious for independence, and Rome quietly yielded what she was unable to refuse. The separation was not unfriendly. The provincials still looked for assistance to their old masters when the barbarians were too strong for them, and more than once they again received the aid of the legions.

But, while the Empire was thus crumbling under its own weight, and unable to retain hold of its distant possessions, it was not so with that other Kingdom, which was now filling the whole earth. At the very time that our island was

abandoned by Valentinian the Third, and the Vandals were wresting Africa from his sway, the Bishop of his imperial city was strengthening the faith of the British Church, and striving to subject Ireland to the Christian religion. In these efforts of Pope Celestine, the counsels and assistance of Palladius, a deacon of the Church of Rome, were particularly conspicuous. It is uncertain to what country he belonged. It has been conjectured that he was a native of Britain, but there is no sufficient evidence of this. His name first became known in connection with the mission of St. German and St. Lupus, in the year 429, for the purpose of repressing the Pelagian heresy among the Britons. We are told that, on that occasion, St. German was sent by Pope Celestine, at the instance of Palladius the deacon.¹ Perhaps the success of the missionaries prompted Palladius himself to set out on a yet more difficult enterprise. At all events, he was raised to the episcopate by the Pope, and sent to the Scots as their first bishop.² The disputes which have arisen in regard to this apparently simple statement will immediately be noticed.

Palladius landed in Ireland in the year 431. His mission at first was successful; and the success, as is common in such cases, being exaggerated at a distance—in Gaul and in Italy—it was reported that the whole country had been converted. Hence, Prosper, in a work written at this time, congratulates Pope Celestine, that he had not only laboured to keep the Roman island Catholic, but had also made the barbarous island Christian.³ Had this been borne out by the facts, Palladius himself would have deserved the panegyric, in both respects, fully as much as the Pope. But it was not so; whether from heathen persecution or otherwise, he was obliged to depart from Ireland within a year after his landing, leaving to another the work which he was unable to accomplish.

Palladius next sailed for Britain, and arrived in the country of the Southern Picts in the end of the year 431,

¹ *Prosperi Aquitani Chronicon—Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. p. lxxxii.

² “*Ad Sectos in Christum credentes, ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur.*” *Prosperi Aquitani Chronicon—Mon. Hist. Brit.* vol. i. p. lxxxii. See also Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 13*; Nennius, c. lv; *Annals of the Four Masters*, O'Donovan's ed. vol. i. p. 129.

³ *Prosper Aquitanus, contra Collatorem.*—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. ci.

or the beginning of 432. The common account of the Irish writers, in which Nennius seems to agree with them, is, that he died soon after his arrival, at Fordun, in the Mearns.¹ There is no reason to doubt that Fordun was the place of his decease, but it appears to be established, on sufficiently reasonable grounds, that he lived and laboured among the Picts for many years. The Irish did not possess any accurate information about him after he left their island, and their writers seem to have confounded his departure thence with his death.² The uniform tradition of Scotland was, that he resided for a long time in that country, and it was generally believed that St. Serf and St. Ternan were his disciples. The same writers, indeed, who mention this, are also of opinion that the Scots, to whom he was sent by Pope Celestine, were the Scots of Britain. This is an entire mistake, as will immediately be noticed, but the mistake itself could hardly have occurred—at all events, the universal tradition of his residence in Scotland would not probably have existed—if he had not laboured in that country for a considerable time. Such tradition could not have arisen from the brief mention of his mission to the Scots by a few foreign writers, and from his death in Britain, following immediately upon his accidental arrival, after the abandonment of that mission. The Roman stranger must have done much more in the country of the Picts to account for the veneration in which his memory was held. The way in which his name was connected with St. Serf and St. Ternan, and the relation of the former of these

¹ "Post parvum intervallum defunctus est Palladius in Campo Girgin, in loco qui dicitur Fordun: dicunt vero alii martyrio coronatum esse eum illic." Vita secunda S. Patricii, c. xxiv.—Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga, p. 13. "Campus Girgin.—in Irish, Mag Girgin (O'Flaherty, marginal note to Tr. Th. p. 248) is the tract since called by corruption Mearns." (Lanigan, vol. i. p. 44.) The story of his suffering martyrdom is unsupported by any trustworthy evidence. "Et profectus est ille Palladius de Hibernia, pervenitque ad Britanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum." (Nennius, c. lv.) See also Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 129, and a variety of authorities quoted by Usher, Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works, vol. vi. p. 367–370.

² "It is like, this tradition of the Irish had no other ground than that the Irish, having no farther account of St. Palladius after he left Ireland, believed that he was dead; or rather, that his retreat from Ireland, with a resolution never to return back to it, was, in regard to them, the same thing as his death." —Innes's History, p. 66.

to St. Kentigern, attest the reality and the extent of his influence, and point to a prolonged continuance of his labours. It may therefore be allowable to believe that it was, at all events, beyond the middle of the fifth century before he died.

The sixth of July was the day on which the festival of St. Palladius was observed in Scotland. His memory was especially venerated at Fordun, where he died and was buried, and where the church was dedicated to him.

Nothing remains to be added to the history of Palladius himself, but it will now be proper to advert to the controversy which arose in connection with the narrative of his mission. This dispute, on which so much has been written, related entirely to the meaning of the few words in Prosper's Chronicle, already quoted, which mention the mission of Palladius to the Scots as their first bishop. The doubts were, first, Who and where were the Scots to whom he was sent; secondly, What was meant by the expression "primus episcopus;" and, thirdly, What historical inference was to be drawn from the fact that he was the first Bishop of the Scots.

Our historians, interpreting the words of Prosper in the sense which would have been attached to them in their own day, took it for granted that the Scots to whom Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine were their own countrymen in Britain. They had here but one difficulty to explain, and that was to account for the precise object of the mission. Believing that their countrymen had been converted long before, they could not admit that Palladius was sent to preach the Gospel for the first time among them; and, in this respect, the words of Prosper so far appeared to bear them out. They therefore asserted that he was sent over by the Pope to root out the Pelagian heresy, which had become prevalent in Scotland.¹ This notion was refuted by Usher, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Innes, who shewed that the only "Scotia" and "Scoti" of those days, were Ireland and the Scots of that island, and that no kingdom of the Scottish race had yet been established

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 8. Boece, f. 132. Leslie, p. 130. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 79. There are some variations in their statements; Fordun and Buchanan asserting that there were no bishops before Palladius; Boece and Leslie that there were bishops, but elected from or by the monks, without the intervention of the Pope. The statement that Palladius was sent to suppress the Pelagian heresy seems to have originated with Boece.

in Britain.¹ Notwithstanding their arguments, some of our countrymen, who ought to have known better, persisted in maintaining that Palladius was sent to Britain, not to Ireland.² The writers referred to neither believed that the Scots had been converted in the time of Pope Victor, nor had any wish to draw conclusions from the mission adverse to the rule of the Christian Church on the subject of ecclesiastical government, for they were all zealous supporters of episcopacy; but they were unwilling to give up the notion of the early settlement of the Scots in Northern Britain. It is difficult to understand how any one, who consulted the original authorities with a moderate degree of attention, could have been led away by the opinion that the Scotia of the ancients, the barbarous island of Prosper, was not Ireland, but the modern Scotland.

The second subject of dispute in connection with Prosper's text was, What was the meaning of the expression, "primus episcopus." The chroniclers mention that Palladius was sent to the Scots believing in Christ, as their "first bishop." The natural meaning of the words is, that the Scots had no bishop prior to this time; but other interpretations have been given. It was known that there had been Christians in Ireland before the arrival of the Roman missionary, as Prosper's own words imply, and there was a tradition, of considerable antiquity, that there had also been several bishops in the island before that event. This made many Irish writers unwilling to admit that Palladius was their first bishop, in the ordinary sense of the words; and Usher contends that he was only first of the two sent by Pope Celestine, St. Patrick being the second—a view in which Innes coincides—or that he was the chief bishop—the Primus, as would now

¹ Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—Works, vol. vi. p. 352. Lloyd's *Historical Account*, p. 81. Stillingfleet's *Antiquities of the British Churches*, Pantin's ed. p. cxxx.—cxli. Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 730, and *History*, pp. 53, 54. Innes, while admitting that the mission of Palladius was mainly to Ireland, contends that it included the Scots, wherever situated, whether in Britain or Ireland; and, while showing clearly in various parts of his works that their monarchy in Northern Britain commenced only in the beginning of the sixth century, he thought they were already in considerable numbers in Argyll, at the date of the mission.

² See Goodall, *Introductio ad Scotichronicon*, p. 64, and *Dissertation on the Culdees* prefixed to Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, Russell's ed. p. xlii.—xlix.; Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 52, 53; Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 7.

be said in Scotland.¹ Notwithstanding the high authority of both the writers referred to, the obvious meaning of the words seems to be the correct one. The others, as Lanigan remarks,² are forced explanations, and would never have occurred to Usher, had he not wished to support the credit of the stories concerning the early Irish bishops. So also, in adopting one of the Primate's suppositions, Innes appears to have been influenced by his wish to find an additional argument against the meaning which had been put on Prosper's words by Scottish writers.

The inference drawn from the statement in the chronicle—the third and most important point in dispute—may now be alluded to. The original meaning attached to the words, Scots and Scotland, had almost been forgotten by our forefathers, and they were not unwilling to claim for themselves the holy men of former days who were mentioned in connection with these names. It was also the national belief that the Scottish monarchy in Britain had existed from a period long anterior to the Christian era, and that the King of the Scots and his subjects had been converted in the time of Pope Victor. When they found it, therefore, recorded by Bede and others that Palladius had been sent by Pope Celestine to the believing Scots as their first bishop, they, without hesitation, applied the statement to their own countrymen. As it could not be said that he had come to convert them, they supposed, as has already been mentioned, that his object was similar to that of St. German in his mission to the Britons, to preserve them from the Pelagian heresy. But how could he be styled their first bishop, and why was it that, in repeating this statement, our writers asserted that the former teachers of the Scots were presbyters and monks only?³ Some explanation of this may be given.

It so happened that neither history nor legend had mentioned the name of any bishop in Scotland before the time

¹ Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—Works, vol. vi. p. 355. Innes's *History*, p. 54.

² *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 36.

³ "Ante cujus adventum habebant Scoti fidei doctores ac sacramentorum ministratores presbyteros solummodo vel monachos, ritum sequentes ecclesie primitivæ." *Seotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 8. It has been frequently asserted that Fordun was the first who held this opinion. It is more likely that he merely followed the current notions of his day.

of Ninian and Palladius. There was no distinct account of the individuals who were said to have been instrumental in bringing about the national conversion during the episcopate of Pope Victor; and St. Rule, to whom so many wonders were ascribed, was an abbot, not a bishop. With these circumstances was no doubt mixed up the remembrance of facts, real, though long posterior in date to Palladius himself, that St. Columba and his successors—who were also abbots, not bishops—had exercised the chief ecclesiastical jurisdiction among the Scots, and that the national system had, for the most part, been collegiate and monastic, without diocesan episcopacy.

A few words may be added regarding an opinion which has been entertained by some late writers, that the Palladius of Prosper and Bede was the same person with St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. Considerable obscurity and some difficulties attend the generally-received accounts of St. Patrick, and these have led a few sceptical writers to doubt or deny his very existence. But to identify him with Palladius would only add to the historical difficulties, and would be inconsistent with the facts which we know regarding the latter. Were this opinion correct, it would also follow that the whole Irish nation had, for thirteen centuries, been mistaken as to the name and actions of the bishop by whom the Christian Church was established among them.

The name of St. Palladius has always been associated in Scottish history with those of St. Serf and St. Ternan. Little is known on sufficient authority regarding the life of these saints. That they were among the early preachers of the faith in our country, and that they contributed to the conversion of the Southern Picts, we may hold as certain, on the evidence of universal tradition. There is also every reason to believe that they really were, what they are said to have been, the disciples of Palladius, and that they received episcopal consecration from him.

Fordun tells us that Palladius appointed St. Serf his coadjutor or assistant bishop, and confirms this statement by a reference to an ancient Life of St. Kentigern.¹ Later writers mention that Palladius sent him to the Orkneys to convert the

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 9.

heathens of those islands.¹ The ordinary residence of St. Serf was at his monastery of Culross, on the Forth, where he received and brought up the youthful Kentigern. He probably died there in the beginning of the sixth century, and at that place a Cistercian abbey was founded in after times, and dedicated to his honour. In the same neighbourhood was the Priory of Lochleven, also dedicated to him, originally a Culdee monastery, and subsequently a cell of St. Andrews.

Even less is known of St. Ternan than of St. Serf. The tradition preserved by Fordun states that the holy bishop Ternan was baptized and educated by St. Palladius. Boece adds, that Ternan, whom Palladius had baptized in infancy, was by him also consecrated Archbishop of the Picts. Usher points out the improbability of the same person who was baptized while an infant by St. Palladius having also been consecrated by him, and, on the supposition that his residence in the country of the Picts was a brief one, this was of course impossible.² It is in any event unlikely that the statement of Boece is correct, but sufficiently credible that Ternan may really have been baptized and ordained by St. Palladius, if we keep in mind how common the baptism of adults must have been in a partially converted country. This is all that we know of St. Ternan. Within or in the immediate neigh-

¹ These statements are collected with his usual industry by Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. pp. 212, 213. He mentions (p. 214) a manuscript *Life of St. Serf*, full of the most absurd fables. These stories are evidently the same with those related by Winton (vol. i. p. 126-134), and amply deserve the character which the Primate gives them. The real history of St. Serf or Servanus must have been entirely obscured at a very early period, when the Prior of Lochleven could find nothing better to tell of the patron of his house than those foolish legends. Even their chronology is opposed to the well known connection of the saint with Palladius and Kentigern, since Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, is made to welcome him at Inchkeith. The account of the conversion of the Orkneys by St. Serf is not supported by good authority, and seems inconsistent with the undoubted condition of these islands in the time of St. Columba. Hence Lanigan conjectures (vol. ii. p. 167) that Servanus was really a contemporary and disciple of St. Columba. It is not at all unlikely that there were two bishops of the name of Serf or Servanus—one, the disciple of Palladius, the other of Columba—and that their actions were mixed up together by our writers. See a similar conjecture of Lanigan (vol. ii. p. 164) in regard to St. Ternan, which may admit of the same explanation.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 9. Boece, f. 133. Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. p. 212.

bourhood of the territory of the Southern Picts, more than one church was dedicated to his memory. His name was especially connected with the Church of Upper Banchory on the Dee, in the county of the Mearns and diocese of Aberdeen, still known as Banchory-Ternan; and in this remote district, during the old Celtic times, as in the famous places of like name in Southern Britain, and Ireland, there may have been a monastery founded by St. Ternan himself, or by his successors.¹

The conversion of the Southern Picts, which had been begun by St. Ninian, was carried on and completed by St. Palladius, St. Serf, and St. Ternan. Other holy men were engaged in the work, but no trustworthy record remains of their several labours. We only know that they lived and taught among our forefathers, that churches were dedicated to their memory, and that their names were held in honour by a grateful people, on whom they had bestowed the highest gift which one human being can be made instrumental in conferring on another. But no reliance can be placed on the legendary narratives of a much later age, which professed to record their actions. Even the real time when they lived is frequently a matter of doubt. It is probable that to the period which elapsed between the death of St. Ninian and the mission of St. Columba may be ascribed several of our early saints, whose names are familiar to us in connection with the dedications of the parochial churches of after times; but it is often very difficult to say which of them preceded, and which of them were subsequent to, the era of the Apostle of the Northern Picts. It will be better, therefore, to avoid any particular

¹ In the St. Andrews Missal, commonly called the Missal of Arbuthnot, from the only copy known to exist having belonged to the parish church of St. Ternan of Arbuthnot, in the diocese of St. Andrews, there is a hymn for the festival of St. Palladius, which commemorates, in connection with the life of that bishop, the events mentioned in this chapter, including, however, a statement in regard to St. Kentigern, which is of course entirely erroneous.

“*Scotis fidem prædicavit,
Terenanum baptizavit
Præsulem sanctissimum;
Kentegernum fonte lavit;
Et Servanum ordinavit
Suum suffraganeum.*”

See *Liber Collegii Glasguensis B.V. Mariæ et S. Annæ*, preface, p. xxvii.

statements, where little can be advanced save on the most vague conjecture.

To the same period is also assigned, in some ancient writings, the foundation of the church of Abernethy. It is mentioned in the Pictish Chronicle that in the third year of the reign of Nectan the Great, son of Irb, King of all the provinces of the Picts, (corresponding to the year of our Lord 458,) Darlughtach, Abbess of Kildare, came over to Britain, and that two years afterwards King Nectan gave to God and St. Bride Abernethy, "with all the bounds thereof, from a stone in Aberfort unto another stone near Cairful, that is Lethfoss, and from thence upwards to Ethan."¹ This statement is manifestly repugnant to chronology. Darlughtach did not succeed St. Bride as Abbess of Kildare till sixty years at least after the date here mentioned.² But though the account in this respect is untrue, and though the legend, so far as Nectan is concerned, probably took its rise from an actual foundation by a later sovereign of the same name, there may have been an ancient erection of Abernethy some time about the date here referred to.

¹ *Chronicon Pictorum*—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 778, and History, pp. 96, 97.

² See note in Innes's History, pp. 96, 97, with reference to the notes of Mr. Herbert and Dr. Todd on the Irish version of Nennius, p. 161, and to Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 296. It is surprising, as Pinkerton remarks in connection with the Critical Essay, "that Innes should have passed in silence so palpable an anachronism," and not only so, but that he should have incorporated the narrative in his History.

CHAPTER IV.

ST. KENTIGERN.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE
SEVENTH CENTURY.

Condition of Northern Britain—Authorities for the Life of St. Kentigern—Birth of St. Kentigern—His residence at Glasgow—His consecration—His residence in Wales—His return to Cumbria—Meeting of St. Kentigern and St. Columba—Death of Kentigern—The ancient see of Glasgow.

TOWARDS the beginning of the sixth century, St. Serf, from his monastery at Culross, was instructing the Picts; and perhaps St. Ternan also, in his more northern residence, was still carrying on the good work of Ninian and Palladius. We have few records of what was doing at this time among the Christians of Valentia. The school of Candida Casa undoubtedly continued, and pious persons resorted thither, not only from Britain, but from Ireland, then in the first fervour of its zeal for the faith. The remote and quiet situation which its founder had wisely chosen probably kept it safe; but in the meantime the greater part of what now forms the southern portion of Scotland was the scene of fierce and constant warfare, and the Church there, as in the rest of Roman Britain, was well nigh entirely subverted.

When the provincials sought independence of Rome, they overrated their own strength. Their best and most skilful soldiers had been carried away to fight the battles of the successive rivals of Imperial majesty who arose in the island. The Picts and their Scottish allies were unceasing in their attacks. Roman aid was still occasionally given, but at last was withdrawn. When the Saxons came to their assistance, it was soon found that the German strangers were more dangerous to the Britons than their own barbarous countrymen. From south to north, and from east to west, the various tribes of the Saxon invaders pressed on, and gradually occupied a considerable part of the island. Among the most powerful of the new kingdoms set up in Britain was that

founded by the Angles, comprehending the whole eastern coast from the Humber to the Forth.

The Teutonic conquerors were heathens as well as barbarians, and wherever they came subverted both the religion and the civilisation of Rome. The Britons, recovering from their first dismay, resisted bravely. Every portion of their country was disputed, but in the fierce contest the outward framework of the Church was destroyed, and there is reason to fear that this was accompanied by great corruption of morals, and among many by absolute apostasy from the faith, or, at least, by a partial return to the Pagan usages of their unbelieving forefathers. The warriors who fought so boldly against the Angles in Valentia, and the bards who sung of their renown, seem frequently to have been Christians in little else than in name.¹

Throughout the whole of the sixth century, there were few intervals of tranquillity in the old province of Valentia. Peace was indeed secured, to a certain extent, in the eastern portions, where the dominion of the English was completely established. Among the Britons, a cessation from foreign invasion was only the signal for domestic strife. Their natural tendency to disunion, repressed by the vigorous rule of Rome, came back with their recovered freedom. They broke up into independent principalities, and several of these, at the period alluded to, divided among them the western parts of Valentia, though it is probable that one supreme ruler reigned at Alcluyd, or Dunbarton. It is not necessary here to trace the history of the Cumbrian Kingdom, or of its various subdivisions. It is enough to state that at this time the Britons continued to retain the greater part of the old province between the walls, the English kingdom of Bernicia occupying the remainder; that their northern frontier extended to the Pictish dominions and the newly established Scottish principality of Argyll; and that, to the south, the communication along the western coast with their brethren in Wales was still open and uninterrupted.

¹ On the subject of the conflicts between the Britons and Saxons in Valentia, see Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 4th ed. book iii. c. 4, and Chalmers's *Caledonia*, book ii. c. 2. See also, in connection with some of the above remarks, Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 153-155.

It has been mentioned that both the faith and the morals of the Britons had decayed during the savage warfare with their heathen invaders. This, we may presume, was especially the case in Cumbria, always exposed to attack, and where it was not likely that the Church had ever been so fully established as in the more southern parts of the island. The accounts which have come down to us indicate a period of great degeneracy, and it is probable that the religion of this portion of the British race was preserved chiefly by means of one individual, St. Kentigern, whose life and ministry I have now to relate.

No account of Kentigern has come down to us from his own age, or from the times immediately succeeding. The Venerable Bede is silent in regard to him as to the other British saints. Bede's task was the ecclesiastical history of his own English nation, which had less connection with the British Church than with any other part of Christendom. With no native record remaining, and no information supplied by contemporary writers, the narratives and notices we have in regard to St. Kentigern rest on tradition alone, but that tradition was of a character sufficient to verify the chief events which it handed down. The reformer of a nation, and the founder of a Church famous in after ages, Kentigern was revered in his own day, and his history was preserved by the people on whom he had conferred such blessings. But it was not in Cumbria only that his name was venerated. He founded also another Church in Wales, and the tradition of the one may have supplied many defects in what was handed down by the other.

We do not know when the actions of Kentigern were first committed to written monuments. There may have been such, even in his own age, though no trace of them is now to be found. They certainly existed soon after the restoration of the see of Glasgow by King David. During the episcopate of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, which extended from 1147 to 1164, and at the desire of that prelate, a Life of St. Kentigern was composed by one of the clergy of his cathedral. The author professes to have derived his information both from written and from oral testimony. The fragment of this work which remains goes no farther than the birth of Kentigern.

Another Life of St. Kentigern was written soon after, and has come down to us entire. The author was Joceline, a Cistercian monk of Furness, and his work was dedicated to the Bishop of the same name, who then governed the Church of Glasgow. In his preface, Joceline refers to two other Lives of the Saint, one of which, at least, must have been of some antiquity, and from them he states that he derived his materials. Although he had access to all such means of information as the clergy of the Church of Glasgow could supply, Joceline is even less trustworthy as a biographer than Ailred of Rievaulx.

From this latter work, unsatisfactory as it is, the chief materials for an account of Kentigern must be derived. Fortunately there are notices of him in several other writings, which enable us in various respects to test the truth of Joceline's narrative, and from these different sources an attempt will now be made to relate the chief events in the life of the Saint.

A difficulty occurs in the very commencement. Various dates have been assigned to the birth of Kentigern, and the earlier of these are so inconsistent with known incidents in his history, that attempts have been made to explain the matter by assigning to his life a duration longer than in these latter days has been allowed to man—Joceline and others extending it to one hundred and eighty-five years. An approximation may be made to the true date. He was educated by St. Serf, the disciple of St. Palladius, and died in the commencement of the seventh century. Allowing, as is probable, that his age was really prolonged to an unusual period, we may assign his birth to the beginning of the sixth century. The year 514 is accordingly the date assigned by Usher to his birth, and 601, or thereby, to his death.¹ Innes declines to speak positively as to the latter, and thinks the former should rather be placed at the end of the fifth century, in order to agree with the probable era of his master, St. Serf.² But the chronology may be reconciled without carrying his birth so far back. There is no necessity for supposing, with Innes, that Palladius died so soon as 440, and there is nothing unlikely in a bishop

¹ Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works, vol. vi. pp. 584, 601.

² History, pp. 124, 134.

consecrated by him towards the end of his life surviving to the beginning of the following century.

It will be best, with Innes, "to pass over the account of his birth, of which there appears nothing certain, but rather fabulous, only that his mother's name was Thenew, daughter to the King of the Midland Britons, or Cumbrians."¹ He was educated at Culross by St. Serf, from whom he received the surname of Mungo, betokening the affection with which he was regarded by his master; and by that name he is still familiarly known in Scotland.² In early manhood he left his abode in the land of the Southern Picts, and returned to Cumbria, where he devoted himself to the instruction of his British countrymen.³ St. Kentigern fixed his residence where the city of Glasgow now stands. Joceline explains, in his own way,⁴ the circumstances that induced Kentigern to settle at this place, which, he tells us, was then called Cathures, and where of old a cemetery had been consecrated by St. Ninian. He had not dwelt long there when he was elected to the episcopate by the Prince, clergy, and people of the land, and received consecration from a single bishop, who had been summoned from Ireland for the purpose, after the manner of the Britons and Scots. Still continuing to reside at Glasgow, he established a religious family or monastery there, and assumed the government of his diocese. This diocese, Joceline

¹ History, p. 125. For the legend, see the Life appended to the preface to the Glasgow Chartulary; and *Vitæ Antiquæ—Vita Kentegerni*, c. i. iv. Thenew, the mother of Kentigern, is named among the saints in the old Scottish calendars. In the preface to the Chartulary of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne at Glasgow (pp. xxxii. xxxiii.), there are some interesting notices connected with a chapel dedicated to her in the street, once called after her name, but for many years back well known as the Trongate. The name, it is there stated, still survives—under one of those changes which are not uncommon—in St. Enoch's Church.

² *Vita Kentegerni*, c. iv. His baptismal name signifies the head or chief lord; his surname, according to Joceline, "the dear friend," or, as Chalmers says (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 316), "the courteous or mild person."

³ *Vita Kentegerni*, c. viii. In this chapter Joceline refers to a Life of St. Serf, which Pinkerton says in a note is not now extant. "Among the books in the choir of the Cathedral [of Glasgow], in the year 1432, was a little volume, chained to the precentor's stall, containing the Life of St. Kentigern, and the Life of St. Serf." (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iv. part i. p. 12, quoting the Glasgow Chartulary, p. 335.)

⁴ *Vita Kentegerni*, cc. ix. x.

says, was equal in extent to the Cumbrian kingdom, reaching from sea to sea.¹

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to ascertain with any accuracy the details of what is here mentioned. We do not know with certainty who the king was who joined in calling Kentigern to his high office—whether he was sovereign of Cumbria, or only a prince of one of its districts—whether the same with Marken, who afterwards drove him from Strathclyde, or another. We cannot discover whether he really received consecration from only one prelate, and if so, why it was necessary to apply to Ireland for assistance. Neither can we tell whether he governed a diocese which extended over the whole Cumbrian kingdom, with Glasgow for its metropolis, or whether he went out from his monastery to exercise episcopal functions among the neighbouring inhabitants, or wherever he happened to be for the time, without any territorial limits. To the ecclesiastical and the civil history of Cumbria at this period equal uncertainty attaches. In the one Kentigern appears alone, and under circumstances of which we have no sufficient knowledge; in the other great names meet us, Arthur, Urien, Aneurin, Taliessin, and we are unable to distinguish between truth and fable. All that we are assured of is, that as the British chiefs bravely contended against the Saxon invaders, so the Bishop strove to extend the Christian faith among those to whom it was hitherto unknown, and to preserve it where it was in danger of falling away.

During this and other periods of his life, various miracles are ascribed to him by his biographers. Several of these alleged miracles are childish and absurd, and one of the best known is of a still worse character, but was notwithstanding admitted both into the Breviary and the Missal of the medieval Scottish Church.

The labours of Kentigern were interrupted by the enmity of Marken, King of Cumbria—a different sovereign, it would rather appear, from the one who had invited him to the episcopate. He was obliged to leave his diocese, and seek for refuge among the Britons of the South. After sojourning for sometime with St. David at Menevia, he took up his abode

¹ Vita Kentegerni, c. xi.

at Elwy. Here, also, by the banks of another Clyde, he erected a monastery where he resided for some years, with the scholars who gathered round him. Meanwhile, Marken having died, Rhydderich, or Roderick, the Bountiful, became King of Cumbria, and sent messengers to Wales, entreating Kentigern's return. The Saint complied with his request, leaving one of his chief disciples to preside over his southern monastery, from whom it received the name, which it still bears, of St. Asaph.¹

The return of Kentigern to Glasgow probably took place after the middle of the sixth century. He resumed the labours which had been interrupted by the persecution of Marken, and, strengthened by the friendship and protection of the King of Cumbria, was successful in combating the heathenism, heresy, and immorality which had almost overwhelmed the Britons. There is no reason to doubt the intimate union which prevailed between Kentigern and his sovereign, and the blessings which thence resulted to the kingdom. But, on this foundation, Joceline, or the author from whom he drew his materials, has raised one of those superstructures of fable which have tended so much to bring disbelief on the whole narratives in which they are found. He tells us that the king, with the advice and consent of his nobles, appeared before St. Kentigern, and, stript of his royal robes, on bended knee offered homage, and yielded to him the supremacy over his kingdom, as the great Constantine had formerly done to St. Silvester. Henceforth, Joceline adds, the Prince in Cumbria was always subject to the Bishop. At the time he wrote, the contest between the rulers of Church and State was agitating Christendom, and the Cistercian monk may easily have been persuaded to believe in the truth of the narrative which he has given.²

Joceline mentions that Roderick was rewarded for his piety with a happy reign and a peaceful death. The generous and noble character of the Cumbrian king is implied in all that

¹ Vita Kentegerni, cc. xxi.-xxiv. xxxi.

² Vita Kentegerni, c. xxxiii. It is to be feared even the excuse in the text cannot be made for a statement in the same chapter, that Kentigern obtained the privilege from the Roman see of being the Pope's own vicar, and subject to no metropolitan. This is manifestly inserted as an argument to be used by the Church of Glasgow in its struggle against the supremacy of York.

has come down to us regarding him, and is attested by the very name he bore. He had to fight for his throne and the existence of his race against the English Ida, and there is reason to believe that the contest was more successful than it generally was on the part of the Britons. That he died in peace we know, on the authority of Adamnan. In the *Life of Columba*, the fulfilment is mentioned of a prophecy regarding Roderick, son of Totail, who reigned at Alcluyd, that he should never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, and that he should die in his own house, on his own pillow.¹

In instruction or friendship Kentigern was associated with other eminent saints. We have seen that he had St. Serf for his master, and St. Asaph for his scholar, and that he had profited by the converse of St. David. A still greater name than any of these remains to be mentioned. About the time of Kentigern's return from Wales, Columba commenced his residence in Iona. They dwelt apart, each in his own appointed place, but it is related that on one occasion they met together. Columba came to visit the Cumbrian bishop at Glasgow, and the meeting took place on the banks of the Molendinar. When they parted, each gave the other his pastoral staff, and that which Kentigern received from Columba was long preserved, in the church of St. Wilfrid, at Ripon.²

Kentigern probably survived to the beginning of the seventh century. Hardly any part of Joceline's work is so absurd as the conclusion. When the Saint found that the time of his departure was at hand, we are told, and we readily believe, that he exhorted his disciples to mutual charity and peace, and to instant continuance in prayer and holy reading. It is farther said, that he warned them to guard against all appearance of simoniacal practices, and to shun the company of heretics and schismatics; and such advice may have been really given. But when we are informed that he gave special instructions for observing the laws and customs of the holy Roman Church, the mother of all Churches, we see at once that Joceline is using the language of a later age, and attributing its opinions

¹ *Vitæ Antiquæ—Vita Columbæ*, lib. i. c. 15.

² *Vita Kentegerni*, cc. xxxix. xl. *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 30.

to St. Kentigern.¹ What follows is much more objectionable. The death of the Saint and of his disciples is described as taking place in a way rather resembling some tale of heathen superstition than the narrative of a Christian's departure.

Dismissing the legend, we know, on what seems sufficient authority, that Kentigern died at an age protracted beyond the ordinary term of human life. The date given by Usher, as formerly mentioned, is 601. The Cambrian Annals assign the year 612.² The day of his death was probably the thirteenth of January, on which his festival was formerly kept. He was buried at Glasgow, in the spot where in after times the stately cathedral rose over his tomb.

Kentigern was long revered as one of the most illustrious of British saints. This is shewn by the number of churches dedicated in his name in all parts of the kingdom.³ As his labours were thus not forgotten, so it is certain that the work of reform which he began was not interrupted by his

¹ See *Vita Kentegerni*, c. xlii. The narrative alluded to is only in accordance with the previous legend of his seven visits to Rome (c. xxvii.); in order that he might assimilate the usages of Britain to those of the Roman Church. We know, on the far higher authority of Bede, that the Britons remained absolutely opposed to the usages of Rome regarding Easter and the tonsure, after the Picts and Scots had adopted them, and that they even carried their dislike to a most unjustifiable extent in other respects. Joceline evidently fancied that the Roman supremacy was the same in early times as in his own. So, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, he relates that, after the establishment of the see of Armagh, the Saint went to Rome and received the pall and the office of legate from the Pope. See Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*—*Sexta Vita S. Patricii*, c. clxvi.

² *Annales Cambriæ*—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 831. There can hardly be a doubt that the "obitus Conthigerni" here recorded is that of the Bishop of Glasgow. The Welsh traditions concerning him seem substantially to have agreed with those of Scotland. "Cyndeyrn Garthwys, son of Owain ab Urien, or Kentigern, one of the most distinguished British saints, to whom several churches are dedicated. He lived about the middle of the sixth century. The Triads record that he was chief Bishop or Primate of the Northern Britons under Gwrthmol, who was chief elder under the sovereignty of Arthur; and that his see was at Penryn Rhwnydd, a place situated probably in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. He seems to have had the ecclesiastical epithet of Mwyngu, or Urbanus; hence he is called St. Mungo in old authors." (*Cambrian Biography*, as quoted by Southey, *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 411.)

³ Besides the cathedral of Glasgow, the collegiate church of Crichton in Mid Lothian, founded by the Chancellor of that name, may be particularly mentioned. In English Cumberland there were several dedications. One of these is the church of Crosthwaite, where the body of Southey reposes.

death. Glasgow became the centre of religion among the Britons, as Iona was among the Scots and Picts. A line of bishops succeeded Kentigern in his see, and monastic families were established throughout Cumbria. The good work was encouraged by the princes and great men of the land, and ample possessions were, in particular, bestowed on the Church of Glasgow. But of the details of all this no contemporary record has been preserved. We do not even know who were Kentigern's successors in his Cumbrian see. St. Asaph had taken his place at Llanelwy when he departed from Wales, and Scottish tradition refers to Baldred, whose name is associated with Tynningham in East Lothian, as another disciple.¹ But all is doubt and obscurity. The wars which afterwards desolated Cumbria, and the changes which took place among its inhabitants, brought back the former barbarism and irreligion, and it seemed as if Kentigern had laboured in vain. The establishments which had been founded by himself and his successors were destroyed, and the possessions with which they had been endowed were usurped by laymen. But the people of Strathclyde never forgot how much they owed to him, and the names and boundaries of the alienated lands were carefully treasured up till the time of restitution should arrive.

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 29.

CHAPTER V.

ST. COLUMBA.

FROM A.D. 521 TO A.D. 597.

Condition of Northern Britain—Authorities for the life of St. Columba—Birth of St. Columba—His education—His ordination—Monasteries founded by him in Ireland—His mission to Northern Britain—Monastery of Iona—Conversion of the Northern Picts—Miracles of St. Columba—Monasteries founded by him in Northern Britain—Inauguration of King Aidan—Council of Drumceat—Character and influence of Columba—His death.

HITHERTO the ecclesiastical history of Scotland has been mainly traced by means of tradition, and of writings whose authors lived long after the events which they recorded. With the mission of St. Columba a new era commences. The narrative still gathers round one man, but incidents connected with his actions and teaching have been preserved in records sufficiently near his own day to possess the character of historical evidence in the strictest sense of the word. This information is not confined to a few meagre facts. Of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern we know little beyond the leading events of their lives—the foundation of Candida Casa, and the conversion of the Southern Picts, the beginnings of the Churches of Glasgow and St. Asaph, and the reformation among the Britons. It is otherwise with St. Columba. His life and his ecclesiastical principles are known to us, not indeed in such detail as we would wish, but with sufficient certainty and fullness to enable us to appreciate both.

Before proceeding farther, it will be necessary to make some remarks on the condition of Northern Britain, at the time when Columba came thither.

In the latter half of the sixth century, while the Britons and Saxons were contending for the possession of Valentia, the rest of Scotland, except a portion of the western coast and the adjacent islands, was still occupied by the Picts. Their king at this time was Brude, the son of Mailcon, whose reign

of thirty years extended from 556 to 586. The difficulties connected with the divisions of Northern and Southern Picts have already been mentioned. It seems probable that Brude was the supreme ruler of the whole country on both sides of the Grampian range. There was, however, one marked and important distinction between the two portions of the nation. The Southern Picts were Christians; they had been converted, as we have seen, by St. Ninian, and St. Palladius and his disciples had handed on the light of divine truth. But the King himself, and his northern subjects, were still sunk in heathen darkness.

At the time of Columba's arrival, and contemporary with the earlier portion of the reign of Brude, Conal, son of Comgal, ruled the Scottish principality of Argyll. As far back as probable tradition reaches, we find the Scots, a branch of the great Celtic race, settled in Ireland, and from the northern coast of that country they passed over to the opposite shore of Britain. It is not likely that this migration took place at once. During the course of years they came over in small numbers at a time, and settled in Argyll and the neighbouring islands. They readily allied themselves with the Picts, along with whom they made repeated inroads into the Roman province; and the Scots referred to by the historians of the Empire may have been composed not only of inhabitants of Ireland, but also of those who had found a settlement in Britain. It is probable, however, that the Scottish monarchy in Britain began with one large accession to their number under the guidance of a single family.

Previously to the establishment of that principality, the Irish people had been converted to the Christian faith. The ineffectual mission of Palladius has already been mentioned, but Patrick was more successful. Before his death he witnessed the peaceful triumph of the Gospel throughout the greater part of the island. On a visit which he made to the north of Ireland, he found Dalriada in possession of the twelve sons of Ere, the descendant of Cairbre-Riada, from whom the district had received its name. Cairbre-Riada, or the Long-armed, the Reuda of Bede, lived in the third century, and is said to have been the brother of Conaire, King of Ireland. The Irish district of Dalriada has

sometimes been confounded with the neighbouring territory of Dalaradia. Lanigan warns his readers against the mistake. Dalaradia, he says, quoting Harris, “comprehended the south and south-east parts of the county of Antrim, and the greatest part of, if not all, the county of Down. It extended from Newry to the mountain Mis, in the barony of Antrim.” Dalriada “comprehended the north-north-west, and part of the south of the county of Antrim. It has been called also Reuta, and, by corruption, the Routs.” An acquaintance with the history of the Irish Dalriada is necessary to a due understanding of that of the Scots in Britain, whose territory at first bore the same name, and who themselves were called Dalriads.¹

Fergus, the youngest of the sons of Erc, is said to have received the blessing of St. Patrick, who foretold his future greatness and the glory of his descendants. When considerably advanced in life, he and two of his brothers led a colony of the Dalriads to Britain, and founded the Scottish monarchy there, in the year 503. He was succeeded by his son Domangart, whose son and successor Comgal was the father of Conal, by whom the island of Iona was bestowed on Columba.

These remarks will explain the original cause of the close connection which long subsisted between the Scots in Britain and in Ireland. As the same name was common to both, it is obvious that without some other mark of distinction they must often have been confounded. Hence arose the disputes between the two nations—the assertion of those now called Scots that many eminent men belonged to their country with

¹ It is singular to observe how at various times the Irish Dalriada was brought into connection with Scotland. The princes of the British Dalriads continued to assert a right to their ancestral province, and the claims thence arising had not been altogether abandoned when James VI. became Sovereign of the three kingdoms. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, King John of England made a grant of Dalriada (including the isle of Rachlin where Bruce afterwards found refuge), to Alan, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the greater part of it was seized by the Scottish M'Donalds, under their leader Somhairle Buidhe. His son, Randal M'Donald, was created Earl of Antrim by King James, and received a legal grant of Dalriada; and his grandson of the same name was the Marquis of Antrim, who sent over his kinsman, Colkitto, to assist Montrose when he raised the royal standard in Scotland. See Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—Works, vol. vi. pp. 146, 147; Lanigan, vol. i. p. 217; and Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, appendix FF.

whom it had really no connection; and the denial by the Irish that Scotland was the birthplace of some who in fact belonged to it, and their exclusive claim to others in whom Scotland had at least an equal right. If it be kept in mind that Ireland was for centuries the only Scotia, and that this name was given to the united kingdoms of the Picts and Scots for the first time, so far as appears, in the tenth century, there will generally be no great difficulty in ascertaining what country is really meant.¹

The personal history of Columba may now be told. That history is chiefly derived from the *Lives* written by Cuminius and Adamnan. The earliest author who left an account of the Saint was Cuminius Albus, who was Abbot of Iona from 657 to 669. He may actually have seen Columba; at all events, he had the most ample opportunities of acquiring information from those who were intimate with him. Adamnan was Abbot of Iona from 679 to 704. His well-known work is an enlargement of that of Cuminius. Except that he was somewhat farther removed from the date of the events which he relates, his means of information were the same as those of his predecessor; he also had conversed with those who had witnessed the actions and listened to the words of Columba.

The defects in plan and in execution common to both *Lives* are sufficiently obvious, but their merits, especially those of Adamnan's work, are equally conspicuous. Innes observes, "It had indeed been much to be wished that Adamnan and his predecessor Cuminius, both of them writers of St. Columba's life, had insisted more upon historical facts, which might have given a greater light into the transactions of those ancient times, than upon the miracles of the Saint. But to do them justice, that is not so much their fault as it is that of the times or age in which they wrote; and the same bad taste that

¹ For the early history of the Scots in Britain, reference may be made to Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 638-666, and Chalmers's *Caledonia*, book ii. c. 6. It is generally stated that Northern Britain was not called Scotland till the eleventh century. Such is the assertion of Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 280), Pinkerton (*Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 223), and Ritson (*Annals*, vol. ii. p. 16). But Chalmers, referring to the *Saxon Chronicle*, clearly shows (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 339) that the name was used in its modern meaning before the middle of the tenth century. Northern Britain was sometimes styled, by way of distinction, *Scotia Nova*. See the *Lives* of St. Cadroe and St. Domnanus, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, as quoted in Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 421.

reigned in the Lives of many other saints, written in the seventh and eighth age, is no doubt the reason why we find so little method and order of time, as well as so little choice of facts, observed in the Life of St. Columba." ¹

The genuineness of Adamnan's Life has been called in question by Sir James Dalrymple, by Ledwich, and by some other writers. It is attested, however, by the strongest external evidence; while those who are acquainted with the history and literature of the age will hardly seek for farther proof than what the work itself supplies. A line of argument similar to that used by the authors referred to would be equally good against the most undoubted writings of the same period. ²

Columba was born on the seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord 521. ³ It is supposed that the place of his birth was Gartan, in the present county of Donegal. His parentage was illustrious. He was the son of Fedhlimid, or Felim, son of Fergus, who was the grandson of Nial of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland. His mother was Aethena, daughter of Macanava, of a princely house in Leinster. His father, Fedhlimid, was half-brother to Murchertach, the first Christian King of Ireland. Erca, the mother of Fedhlimid and Murchertach, was the daughter of Loarn, brother to

¹ History, pp. 145, 146.

² See on this subject Dr. Reeves' edition of Adamnan, appendix to preface, p. lviii.—lx. This edition of the Life of St. Columba is one of the most valuable contributions to the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland which has been made during the present century.

³ The day and month are mentioned in the ancient calendars. The year has been a subject of much dispute. The various Irish Annals assign different dates, from 499 to 520 (*Colleetanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 212). Colgan (*Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 485, 486) makes it 519, and Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. p. 586) has 522. The year 521 is given by Innes (*History*, p. 148), and that date is maintained by Lanigan, in a learned and apparently conclusive argument (vol. ii. pp. 113, 114). The true date is mainly fixed by what Adamnan states (*Vitæ Antiquæ—Vita Columbæ*, lib. i. c. 1) that Columba came to Britain in the forty-second year of his age, being the second year after the battle of Culdrhuime. This battle was fought in the year 561, according to Usher's calculation. "It is natural to suppose that Adamnan would not have called the year 562, or any part of it, the second after 561. Laying down 563 as that of Columba's departure, and combining it with the time of the year in which he was born, it will easily be seen that the birth must be placed in 521." (*Lanigan*, vol. ii. p. 113.) See also Dr. Reeves' edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, appendix to preface, pp. lxi. lxx.

Fergus the first King of British Dalriada; and hence Columba was kinsman to Conal, who ruled in Argyll at the date of his arrival in Britain, each being fourth in descent from Erc, the father of Fergus and Loarn.¹

It is said that he was first called Crimthan, and afterwards Columba, on account of his dovelike simplicity. Adamnan knew of no name except Columba, which he believed to have been providentially bestowed upon him.² It was a common name in Ireland, and there is every reason to think that it was given to him at his baptism, and that by it alone he was known during his life. Afterwards, as a mark of honour, and to distinguish him from others, he was called Columbkille—Columba of the churches—with reference, no doubt, to the many monasteries which he had founded.

His first master was a devout priest, named Cruthnechan, and when farther advanced in life he was entrusted to the care of St. Finian of Moville, at whose famous school he remained for several years.³ It is interesting to observe how Columba was thus in some degree brought into connection with Britain, for his master Finian had himself, in early youth, studied at Candida Casa.⁴ During his residence at Moville, he was ordained a deacon, and while still in that order attended another famous teacher called Germanus.⁵ If he really studied

¹ Adamnan, *Vitæ Antiquæ*.—*Vita Columbæ*, lib. i. c. i. Lanigan, vol. i. pp. 434, 435; vol. ii. pp. 106, 111, 112, 113. The names of the father, mother, and paternal and maternal grandfather of Columba, are the only ones which rest on the authority of Adamnan. The earliest authority for the place of Columba's birth is an old Irish Life, probably of the tenth century, incorporated in the biography compiled by Mannus O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnel, about the year 1532. See *Trias Thaumaturga*—*Vita quinta S. Columbæ*, lib. i. cc. xxii. xxv., and Reeves' *Adamnan*, preface, pp. xxxii. xxxiii. lxviii.

² Adamnan, *præfatio secunda*.

³ Cuminius, *Vitæ Antiquæ*.—*Vita Columbæ*, cc. iii. iv. Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 1; lib. iii. cc. 2, 4. Finian is sometimes called by his other like name of Findbar. For an account of this holy man, Bishop and Abbot of Moville, see Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 23-28, and Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, pp. 151, 152. Pinkerton, in notes on the passages quoted above from Cuminius and Adamnan, refers to Finian of Clonard as Columba's master. This is an opinion held also by other writers; but there can hardly be a doubt that it was the saint of Moville, not of Clonard, to whom Columba was sent at the time mentioned, though he may afterwards have studied at Clonard. See Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 23.

⁴ Lanigan, vol. i. p. 424; vol. ii. p. 25.

⁵ Adamnan, lib. ii. cc. 1, 26.

also under St. Finian of Clonard, it was probably after he left Germanus.

Columba having completed his ecclesiastical studies returned to his native district of Tyrconnel, and there founded a monastery. It was situated near Lough Foyle, on a wooded eminence which from the oak trees upon it received the name of Dair Calgaich. The foundation probably took place about 546, when he was twenty-five years of age.¹ This was the first, and continued to be one of the most famous of the many religious establishments founded by St. Columba. A few years afterwards, probably about 550, he went southward to Meath, and erected another "noble monastery" at Dair-magh, on a piece of ground which was given him by one of the princes of that country, named Brendan.² Soon after this event he was ordained to the priesthood by St. Ethen, a bishop who resided at Cluainfoda, in the province of Meath.³

It is certain that other monasteries were founded in Ireland by St. Columba, either at this time or subsequently, but it is not easy to distinguish between those which originated with himself, and those which were established by his disciples,

¹ The monastery of Dair Calgaich, which Adamnan calls by the equivalent name of Roboretum Calgachi, was the beginning of the city of Derry. The date of the foundation in the text is given by the Annals of Ulster, the usual difference of a year in the chronology being taken into account. Compare Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—Works, vol. vi. p. 527, and Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 121, with the Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 178. The land for the monastery was given to Columba by his own kinsmen, the princes of the district. Tyrconnel received its name from his great-grandfather, Conal, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages.

² Adamnan, lib. i. c. 3. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 4. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 211. Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 118. See also note by Dr. O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. iii. pp. 71, 72. Dair-magh, Campus roborum, Roboretum campi—the plain of the oaks, the oak-grove of the plain—is the modern Durrow in King's County. It was so called from a cause similar to that which gave its name to the older monastery in Tyrconnel. Beside the monastery of Durrow, even from its original erection, we have good reason to believe that there was one of those round towers, the true history and purposes of which have now been elucidated by Dr. Petrie; see his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 2nd ed. p. 387-389, with reference to Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 15.

³ Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 125. The curious Irish legend of St. Columba's ordination to the priesthood is given in the Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin. (Introduction by Dr. Todd, pp. liv. lv.) See also Reeves (*Down, Connor, and Dromore*, p. 130), and the remarks of Lanigan (vol. ii. p. 128-130).

during his life, or after his decease. Some modern writers relate that, in the interval between the foundation of Durrow and his arrival in Britain, he visited various parts of the continent, and erected a monastery in Italy. There is not the slightest authority for this. The story evidently originated in confounding his history with that of his contemporary, St. Columbanus.

The next great event in his life—that in which Scottish Christians are most deeply interested—is his leaving Ireland on a mission to Northern Britain. A legend has been handed down connecting his departure with a dispute between him and his old master, St. Finian of Moville, which finally resulted in the battle of Culdrhuime. Lanigan shows the absurdity of the whole narrative.¹ His only connection with that battle was the natural anxiety he had for the safety of his kinsmen in Tyrconnel, who were attacked by Diermit, King of Ireland. The legend may also have arisen, in part, from an actual proposal in an Irish synod, held about the time of the foundation of Durrow, to excommunicate St. Columba for some alleged offence, and which was prevented from going farther by Brendan, Abbot of Birr.² There is no need to attribute his voluntary expatriation to any secular quarrel, or ecclesiastical censure. The love of God and of his brethren was to him a sufficient motive for entering on the great work to which he was called. His immediate objects were the instruction of the Christian subjects of Conal, King of the British Scots, and the conversion of their neighbours, the heathen Picts of the north.

Accompanied by twelve of his disciples, Columba left Ireland, and landed in Iona in the year of our Lord 563.³ The sacred number twelve appears very often in ecclesiastical

¹ Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. pp. 148, 149. Dr. O'Donovan is nevertheless disposed to attach a certain degree of credibility to the story. (Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 192-194, and p. 197.)

² Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 3. Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 150, 151.

³ Cuminius, c. iv. Adamnan, lib. i. c. 1; lib. iii. c. 4. Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4. Adamnan makes the date of his arrival in Britain to be two years after the battle of Culdrhuime, which, as already mentioned, was fought in 561; while Bede expressly assigns the year 565. There can be no doubt that the earlier date is the true one. "Usher has proved, and it is now universally admitted, that Columba's arrival in Hy ought to be assigned to 563. Yet if it be

history in connection with the superior and members of a mission, or religious establishment. The great Scottish saints were particularly attached to it, as may be seen in the twelve companions of Columbanus, and the twelve Saxon boys who were brought up by Aidan. The King of the Albanian Scots at this time was, as already mentioned, Conal, son of Comgal. The island of Iona formed part of his kingdom, and he made over the dominion of it to the Saint.¹ Here Columba erected the monastery with which his name has since been inseparably connected.

considered that Bede alluded chiefly to the time in which Columba commenced his mission among the Picts, the two dates may in some manner be reconciled. For although he reached Hy in 563, he might not have gone into the Pictish territories until 565, after having spent about two years in forming his establishment in the island. And it is very remarkable that Bede makes Columba live about thirty-two years after his arrival in Britain, whereas Adamnan expressly states that he did not die until thirty-four years after his departure from Ireland. Now, comparing all these dates, the result is the same as to the time of Columba's death." (Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 158.) The year 563 is also that which is given by Tighearnac (O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii. p. 143), though the other annalists assign various earlier dates (*Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 214, and *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 197). See also Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. pp. 235, 236, and Innes's *History*, pp. 150, 151.

¹ There is a controversy, as is well known, whether Iona was given to Columba by Conal, King of the Scots, or by Brude, King of the Picts. According to Bede (*lib. iii. c. 4*), it was given by the latter. The *Annals of Tighearnac*, *Ulster*, *Clonmacnois*, and the *Four Masters*, attribute the gift to the former. (*Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 214; *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 209, and note by Dr. O'Donovan, p. 208.) It has been attempted to reconcile these conflicting statements, by supposing that both kings had claims on the island, and that they united in making it over to Columba. The truth of the narrative neither requires nor admits such an explanation. Bede appears to be in error. It is much more likely that on a point of this kind he should have mistaken the information he received, than that the Irish writers should not have known, or should have wilfully misrepresented, the fact. As Columba, also, sailed straight from Ireland to Iona, the island must have been the gift of Conal, since we cannot suppose that it would at that time have been given by the heathen prince, Brude. Adamnan's whole narrative implies that Iona was beyond the limits of the Pictish kingdom, while it appears all along as closely connected with the principality of the Scots. Pinkerton contends that Bede is right, and that the contrary assertion of the annalists is to be disregarded, both in respect of their later date, and because "these annals being written by Irish churchmen, they would naturally wish to make Hyona belong to the old Scots of Irish extract, and to give them the merit of this saintly donation." (*Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 314.) But Pinkerton himself had here a theory to maintain, and where that is the case he is not much to be trusted. The contrary and sounder opinion is supported by Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. p. 246), Innes (*Critical Essay*, p.

The island of Iona is about three miles long and a mile and a half broad. It is separated from Mull by a narrow sound about half a mile in breadth. Besides the name which it generally bears, it is also known as Hy—the island, and Icolmkill—the island of Columba of the churches.

The first task of St. Columba, after taking possession of the island, was to erect a monastery and a church. These buildings were exceedingly humble. The church was probably of hewn timber, thatched with reeds, like that erected at Lindisfarne by Bishop Finan, after the manner of the Scots, as described by Bede.¹ The monastic buildings were of a still more unpretending kind, as is implied in the whole narrative of Adamnan. They were, no doubt, of the same character with those which are known to have existed in Ireland at that time, contrasting remarkably with the magnificent structures of after ages. The glory of those early buildings was within.

The monastery of Iona, like those previously founded by Columba in Ireland, was of the kind already described in connection with the account of Candida Casa. It was not a retreat for solitaries whose chief object was to work out their own salvation: it was a great school of Christian education, and was especially designed to prepare and send forth a body of clergy trained to the task of preaching the Gospel among the heathen.

Columba, after the erection of the monastery, occupied himself for some time in the instruction of his countrymen, the Scots of Argyll. They were already Christians; but, possessing no great ecclesiastical establishment, and being divided by the sea from their brethren in Ireland, we may readily suppose that the presence of Columba and his companions was the beginning of a new period of religious life in their nation. Two years were thus spent, and the end of that time brings us to 565, the date assigned by Bede to the arrival of Columba from Ireland, but which, as already mentioned, was rather the

88-90, History, p. 152), Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. i. p. 319), Ritson (Annals, vol. i. p. 192), and Lanigan (Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 156).

¹ "Finan . . . qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam, quam tamen more Scottorum non de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque harundine textit." Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25.

date of the first preaching of the Gospel to the Northern Picts.

The King of the Picts and the northern portion of his subjects were still idolaters. We do not know the precise nature of their superstition, the objects of their belief, or the forms of their worship; but it is probable that the system once prevalent throughout Britain still maintained its sway in these remote regions.

Brude, the son of Mailcon, King of the Picts, was a powerful prince.¹ His dominions extended from the Forth to the extremity of Caithness, and even the Orkney islands appear to have acknowledged his supremacy. His chief residence was near the river Ness, and thither Columba proceeded, crossing in his way the mountains which divided the Pictish kingdom from the territory of the Scots. When he approached the royal dwelling, the King caused the gates to be shut against him. Columba, we are told, made the sign of the cross, and touched the door with his hand. The bolts flew back, the gates opened of their own accord, and the Saint entered with his companions. The King, in great awe, went forward to meet him, and received him with the utmost veneration.²

Columba was now allowed to preach the Gospel without hindrance. Among those who heard him gladly was a man of humble rank, who was forthwith baptized with his wife and children and whole household. Soon after, one of the sons sickened and died. When this was known, the heathen priests, or Magi, derided his parents, and boasted that their gods were stronger than the God of the Christians. Columba was informed of what had taken place. Repairing to the house, he put all out of the room where the corpse lay, and kneeling down prayed to Christ the Lord. Then turning his eyes towards the body, he said, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, rise up, and stand upon thy feet." The young man opened his eyes, and the Saint, raising him up, delivered him alive to his parents.³

The chief opponent of Columba was the Magus, Broichan,

¹ "Regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo." Bede, lib. iii. c. 4.

² Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 36.

³ Cuminius, c. xxv. Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 33.

who had been the king's foster-father. He and the other magicians strove by their diabolical arts to resist the Gospel. But their efforts were vain; the king became a Christian, and the conversion of his people followed.¹

The miraculous incidents which have been mentioned are told in the words of one of Columba's early biographers. The miracle as to the opening of the king's gate rests on the authority of Adamnan alone; the raising of the young man from the dead is related both by Cuminius and by Adamnan, but the details of the event are given by the latter only. The evidence on which they have come down to us is obviously of a character entirely different from that on which the alleged miracles of Ninian and Kentigern rest. Cuminius and Adamnan might have conversed with those who saw the marvellous events which they relate; they were the ecclesiastical rulers of the nation to whose conversion these miracles may have contributed; and all around them, among the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, they saw the effects of the great work which had been begun in Britain. Sitting in Columba's seat, and revering his memory, they frequently exaggerated what was in itself wonderful, or invested with the marvellous what, after all, was in the ordinary course of providence; yet it is difficult to suppose that they could have themselves been mistaken, or that they would wilfully have misled others, in regard to all the miracles which they relate. The following remarks of Innes deserve an attentive consideration. "St. Columba had to do with a rude, unpolished people, whose chief exercise was warlike expeditions, a people drowned in sensuality, wholly governed by their passions, and not susceptible of any impressions but what affected their senses, knowing no rewards or punishments but what fell under these, and fortified in their prejudices against truth by their Druids or magicians, a set of men inspired and animated by the devil, and in great credit and authority with this people, by their charms, enchantments, and false wonders,

¹ Adamnan, lib. i. c. 38; lib. ii. cc. 34, 35. Bede, lib. iii. c. 4. See also Innes's History, p. 193, and Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 154. Modern writers speak of Broichan as the Archdruid or Archimage. Adamnan says nothing of this, but Broichan is the only Magus mentioned by name, and appears to come forward more prominently than the others.

wrought by the power and influence of the wicked spirits, pretending a power over the elements, and the disposal of all those sensible goods and ills in which sensual and carnal men made their only happiness or misery consist. With men in these dispositions, and of a temper so different from the polished Greeks and Romans, their first preachers were not to begin by reasonings and arguments drawn from the nature or operations of the soul; their first business was to prove their mission and establish their authority, and in order to that, to demonstrate by miracles falling upon the senses, and above the common course of nature, that they were sent and authorised by the true God, creator and master of all, and author of nature itself, sovereign master of life and death, and of all visible and sensible, as well as of all spiritual and unseen rewards and punishments.”¹

The conversion of the Northern Picts continued to go on during the remainder of the life-time of Columba. The Saint himself made repeated journies to the royal residence, and through various parts of the kingdom. Nor was the sea any barrier in his way; we find him frequently braving its dangers, in reliance on the providence of God, or protected by direct miraculous aid. What he was unable to do in person, the most distinguished of his disciples were commissioned to accomplish. Diligently following in their master's footsteps, it was a part of their very calling to disregard danger and fatigue. But to some of them ordinary trials in this respect were not enough. They found their way to the wildest glens of northern Scotland; and, when these were explored, sought for new perils and fresh triumphs in the farthest isles of the ocean. And so by degrees the Gospel was preached throughout the whole kingdom, and among the islands on its western and northern shores. Wherever Columba and his followers went, monasteries were established on the model of Iona; and from each of these, again, the monks went forth to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation.

Accounts have come down to us, more or less trustworthy, of several of these missionary enterprises. One of the most beautiful is the narrative which relates the foundation of the church of Aberdeen. Among the followers of Columba

¹ History, p. 195.

was a Scot from Ireland, of noble birth, bearing the name of Machar. Having been ordained a priest, and afterwards received episcopal consecration, he was sent out with twelve companions to preach the Gospel. He was told to go onward till he should find a river whose windings resembled the figure of a bishop's crosier: there he was to stop and build a church. They proceeded on their way till they reached the Don. Near the mouth of that river they saw the sign which had been pointed out, and there they erected a church, where the cathedral of Aberdeen was afterwards built and dedicated in St. Machar's name.¹

Of the fearless enterprise of Columba's monks, under circumstances of far greater difficulty, we have an example in the voyages of St. Cormac, the Navigator. These would at once be pronounced improbable, were they not attested by the most satisfactory proof. The only doubt is whether Cormac was one of Columba's disciples, or connected with him by the ties of friendship alone, and no way subject to his authority.² Cormac was anxious to discover some uninhabited island, his intention probably being to establish a monastery, or to lead an eremitical life, as far away as possible from all human society. Thrice he sailed in search of this desert in the pathless ocean, but without success.³ During one of these voyages, Columba happened to be at the residence of the Pictish king, where a Prince of the Orkneys was also present. The Saint, foreseeing that his friend would have to land on these islands, requested Brude to recommend him to the protection of this chief, and his recommendation afterwards

¹ See on the subject of this narrative Innes's History, p. 194, and the preface to the Chartulary of Aberdeen, p. x. The common authorities of both are O'Donnell, lib. iii. c. 26, in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, and the Breviary of Aberdeen, pars æstivalis, f. cliv.-clvii.

² Lanigan (vol. ii. p. 214) doubts whether he was a disciple of Columba, chiefly because Adamnan is silent on the point. On one occasion certainly (lib. iii. c. 17), Adamnan seems to refer to him rather as the head of an independent monastery; but in another place (lib. ii. c. 43), Columba himself speaks of Cormac and his companions as if they were his own monks.

³ "Tribus non minus vicibus, Eremum in Oceano laboriose quæsit nec tamen invenit." Adamnan, lib. i. c. 6. "Aliqui ex nostris nuper emigraverunt, desertum in pelago intransmeabili invenire optantes." Ibid. lib. ii. c. 43. See reference to another voyager of the same description, *ibid.* lib. i. c. 20.

saved the life of Cormac when he arrived at the Orkneys.¹

At the date of this narrative, it would appear that the inhabitants of the Orkneys were still heathens, but the attention thus directed to them probably led to their conversion. The Gospel was certainly preached in these islands by Scottish monks, and it is not unlikely that the mission began in the manner here indicated.²

The testimony of Bede and the import of the whole narrative of Adamnan leave no doubt that the kingdom of the Northern Picts was converted by Columba and his immediate disciples. It is not of course implied that, in one generation, the whole people could be entirely turned from their heathen errors. We know, indeed, that this was not the case. But under those limitations which must be always understood in regard to a national conversion, the work was certainly accomplished. We would have had the best evidence of the precise extent of Columba's labours among the Picts, if we had known the situation of the various monasteries erected by him in their territory, but no account of these has come down to us. Adamnan only mentions the name of a monastery when he has some incident connected with it to relate. Of those which he does allude to, the greater number are in the islands of the Scottish seas.

We are told that Columba often resorted to the monastery in Himba, over which Ernan, his maternal uncle and one of his twelve original companions, presided. He was there when he received the famous visit made to him by four eminent founders of monasteries in Ireland, St. Comgall of Bangor, St. Cainnech of Aghaboe, St. Brendan of Clonfert, and St. Cormac.³ There was a monastery in the island of

¹ Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 43. It does not appear whether the "*Orcadum regulus*" here mentioned was *the* Prince of the Orkney islands, as understood by Innes and Lanigan, or merely *a* Prince, as seems to have been the opinion of Pinkerton.

² On this subject see a note by Mr. Herbert, in the *Irish Version of Nennius*, pp. 147, 148. The well-known legend of St. Brendan's isle, whatever other truth may be hidden under it, attests the character for daring navigation acquired by the early Irish monks.

³ Cuminius, c. xii. Adamnan, lib. i. c. 46; lib. iii. c. 17. The island of Himba is repeatedly mentioned by Cuminius and Adamnan. Pinkerton was unable to discover by what name it is now called, though he was inclined to think it was on the coast of Ireland. Compare note in *Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 30, with *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 316. Lanigan rather supposes that it is *Inch-Marnoch*,

Elena, of which Lugneus Macumin, one of his disciples, was superior in his old age.¹ But the island apparently of most ecclesiastical importance, next to Iona itself, was that of Ethica. There were in it several monasteries, of which those of Campus Lunge and Artchain are mentioned by name. Baithen, one of the twelve companions of Columba, and his successor as Abbot of Iona, governed the monastery of Campus Lunge; that of Artchain was founded by a priest named Findchan.²

Brude, the son of Mailcon, died in 586, after a reign of thirty years, but his decease did not affect the progress of religion in his kingdom. His successor Garnard and all the following Kings of the Picts were Christians.

near Bute. "Its name signifies the island of Mernoc. Now Mernoc is the same name as Ernan, just as Maidoc is the same as Aidan. The old name Himba might have been changed into Ernan's isle." *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 168.) Dr. Reeves declines to give a positive opinion. (Adamnan, p. 87, note.)

¹ Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 17. Pinkerton (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 119, note) merely conjectures that Elena was one of the Hebrides, and Lanigan (vol. ii. p. 164) does not venture to be much more distinct. Adamnan's words throw no light on the situation, and the name is too common to afford any assistance. Perhaps it is Elachnave, on which there exist the remains of some very early ecclesiastical buildings. See *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii. part i. p. 277, and Reeves Adamnan, p. 127, note.

² Adamnan, lib. i. c. 36; lib. ii. c. 14; lib. iii. c. 8. In regard to Ethica, as to the other islands, different opinions have been entertained. Colgan (*Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 377) thought it might be the Mainland of Zetland; and Innes was of opinion (*History*, p. 204) that it meant the Zetland islands generally. Whether we look to the indications supplied by Adamnan as to the distance between Iona and Ethica, or to the circumstances above alluded to in connection with the Orkney islands, the conjectures of Colgan and Innes are evidently erroneous. Smith (*Life of St. Columba*, p. 76) and Lanigan (vol. ii. p. 168) think it was the island of Eig. The latter, while admitting the difficulty which stood in the way of this opinion, from reference being made in the text of Adamnan to an island called Egea, supposes that this was the mistake of a transcriber for Ethica. Independently of this difficulty, the notices in Adamnan, taken altogether, would hardly apply to Eig. Pinkerton conjectures that Ethica was Lewis (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 117, note); Lanigan objects to this, that it cannot be reconciled with the length of Baithen's voyage, as described by Adamnan. There can hardly be a doubt that Dr. Reeves is correct in identifying Ethica with Tiree. (Adamnan, pp. 48, 207, notes.) The numerous ecclesiastical antiquities which are to be found there, and perhaps the name itself, may be held to confirm this opinion, which also, in other respects, is most conformable to the whole import of the information which we gather from Adamnan.

Nothing is said by Adamnan as to assistance having been given to Columba in the conversion of the Northern Picts by the people of the southern part of Brude's dominions, nor are we aware that any efforts were ever made by them to bring their countrymen to a knowledge of the truth. As we hear of no great teacher among them after the death of St. Serf and St. Ternan, it may be that the Church in that quarter remained stationary, or even declined during the sixth century, till awakened by Columba's teaching in its neighbourhood. Or it may really have aided his efforts, though no record of this remains. After the conversion of Brude, it is reasonable to suppose that the influence of Columba extended also to the Southern Picts, and tradition accordingly refers to the labours of his disciples among them. It may seem strange that, when this portion of the nation had professed the Christian religion for so many years, the conversion of the Northern Picts had not rather proceeded from Fordun, or Culross, or Banchory, than from Iona. Such events, however, are not governed by the ordinary rules of human actions; and, besides, the circumstance alluded to is not more singular than the well-known fact of the Saxons of Sussex having been converted by the Northumbrian Wilfrid, nearly a century after St. Augustine had preached the Gospel to their neighbours in Kent.

In the dominions of King Conal, as in those of King Brude, Iona had the pre-eminence. Columba was equally the ecclesiastical head of both kingdoms. There can be no doubt that he established various monasteries in Argyll, though one only is mentioned by Adamnan. It was situated in the neighbourhood of Loch Awe, and was governed by one of his monks, named Cailtan, from whose brother, Diuni, it afterwards received its name.¹

Conal died in 571, and was succeeded by his nephew, Aidan, son of King Gauran and grandson of King Domangart. In connection with this event, a remarkable narrative is given both by Cuminus and by Adamnan. Columba was in the isle of Himba, and, at night, falling into a trance, he saw an angel come to him, holding in his hand the glass book of the ordination of kings.² Having received the book from the

¹ Adamnan, lib. i. c. 31.

² "Vitreum ordinationis regum librum." The book received its name, as is

angel he began to read, and found it written that he was to inaugurate Aidan as King of the Scots. He would not obey, because he preferred that prince's brother Eogenan. The angel thereupon struck him with a whip, saying, "Know for certain that I am sent to thee by God, to the end that thou mayest ordain Aidan to the kingdom, according to the words which thou hast read; and if thou refusest, I shall strike again." Three successive nights the angel appeared, holding the book in his hand, and repeating the divine injunction. Columba, no longer daring to refuse, passed over to Iona, and there ordained Aidan to be king, laying his hands upon his head, and blessing him; and prophesying, at the same time, the future fortunes of his house.¹

Thenceforward Columba took an especial interest in the welfare of the new sovereign. Aidan became one of the greatest of the Scottish kings, triumphed over all opposition within his own dominions, and carried his victorious arms beyond the English border. Towards the end of his reign, he was checked by the severe defeat which he received at Degsestan from Ethelfrid of Northumbria.

The teaching of Columba appears to have exercised some influence in Britain, even beyond the dominions of the Picts

supposed, from its cover being encrusted with glass or crystal; see Innes's History, p. 200-202. Dr. Reeves' remarks on this point (Adamnan, p. 197, note) have not satisfied me that the meaning put on the passage by Innes and others is incorrect.

¹ Cuminius, c. v. Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 5. The narrative implies that the rite of ordination of the Kings of the Scots was not then used for the first time. It will be kept in mind that the Scottish monarchy in Britain had been Christian from its commencement. The remark of Martene, that this was the earliest example of the benediction of kings, has frequently been quoted. But the Emperors of the East, from the time of Theodosius II., were crowned by the Patriarchs of Constantinople. After referring to the unction of the British kings mentioned by Gildas, and to the inauguration of Aidan, Dr. Lingard observes (Anglo-Saxon Church, ed. 1845, vol. ii. p. 367) "Are we then to believe that the Byzantine Emperors borrowed the rite of coronation from the petty princes of Britain and Ireland? It appears to me more probable that the British chiefs, after their separation from the Empire, and the recovery of their independence, caused themselves to be crowned with the same ceremonies which they knew to have been adopted by their former masters. In fact, the many instances of royal unction in the Scriptures offer a sufficient reason why every Christian nation should, at a very early period, have imitated the practice."⁹

and Scots. Adamnan twice refers to Saxon Christians in Iona.¹ Only two individuals are named; one of them a lay-brother in the monastery, the other probably of higher rank. These, we may suppose, were converted by Columba, but it would be too much to assume that any systematic effort had been made to enlighten the Saxons.² It is not unlikely that the individuals alluded to may have been captives, carried off by King Aidan in some of the inroads which he made into the English territories. But even on this supposition, as the Roman mission had not yet begun, it was Columba, so far as we have any positive evidence, who offered the first fruits of the English nation to God.

The residence of Columba in Britain had no way impaired the authority which he exercised over his Irish monasteries; it must rather have increased his general influence in his native island. His intercourse with Ireland was frequent and uninterrupted. He sent messengers thither from Iona, and Irish bishops and abbots visited him in Britain. On several occasions he himself passed over to Ireland, when his personal presence seemed to be necessary for the welfare of the Church or kingdom.³ His last and best known visit took place in the year 590, when he went to attend the Council of Drumceat.⁴ He was accompanied on the voyage by King Aidan, one object of the meeting being to settle a dispute which subsisted between that prince and Aidus, King of Ireland. The council was attended by the two sovereigns, and by the nobles and great men, and bishops and abbots of Ireland. The first matter which was discussed related to the privileges of the bards. King Aidus and the greater number present viewed them with jealousy, and, contending that their great privileges had been abused, proposed to decree the suppression of the order. This was resisted by Columba, and the order was preserved, but

¹ Vita Columbæ, lib. iii. cæ. 10, 22.

² See, on this subject, the remarks of Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 172-175, and of Moore, History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 246, 247.

³ See Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 173-179, and the references there made to Adamnan.

⁴ Drumceat, called in the Latin of Adamnan Dorsum-cete, was situated in the modern county of Derry, probably near Newtown Limavaddy; see Reeves' Down, Connor, and Dromore, p. 321, and Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 133.

their number was limited, and regulations were made as to the proper performance of their duties.

The other subject brought before the council was the controversy between the King of the Scots and the Monarch of Ireland. This controversy has been variously stated — O'Donnell asserting that Aidan claimed the sovereignty of Irish Dalriada free from tribute or other homage; while Keating and O'Flaherty mention that the dispute took its rise in a demand by Aidus of tribute from British Dalriada. The former explanation is adopted by Lanigan; the latter by Pinkerton and Chalmers. There is no essential difference, however, as to what was the decision of the council. The opinion of Columba having been asked, he declined to give it, but referred the assembly to Colman, son of Comgellan, a pious and learned ecclesiastic, as one every way qualified to decide. It was agreed to abide by the decision of Colman; and his judgment was, that Dalriada, being an Irish province, must be subject to the King of Ireland; that the British Dalriada should be independent; and that the inhabitants of both countries should hold each other as kinsmen and allies, and give mutual aid on all lawful occasions. This decision was acquiesced in by both parties.¹

After a short stay at Drumceat, Columba inspected his monasteries of Derry and Durrow, remaining for some time at the latter. On this occasion he paid a visit to Clonmacnois, and was received with the greatest veneration by the abbot, Alitherus, the brethren, and the whole inhabitants of the neighbourhood. He then set out on his return homeward, and on the way had a meeting with St. Comgall of Bangor. Thence he went to Coleraine, where he was entertained by the bishop, Conall, and soon afterwards embarked for Iona.²

¹ Adamnan alludes several times to the presence of Columba at the Council of Drumceat, but gives no narrative of its proceedings. In regard to them, reference may be made to O'Donnell, lib. iii. c. 2-10; Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 236-243; Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 116, and note to the *Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 97; Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 283; and Reeves' Down, Connor, and Dromore, pp. 321, 322.

² See the movements of Columba, after the Council of Drumceat, very accurately traced by Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 243, 244, with references to Adamnan. St. Comgall, as already mentioned, was one of the four founders of monasteries who visited Columba in the island of Himba. Columba and the master of

The close of Columba's life was now approaching; but before narrating the circumstances connected with his decease, it may be proper to make some observations on his personal character, and on the religious influence which he exercised. Nothing will be said, at this place, about the doctrinal and ecclesiastical system of Iona. These important points will afterwards be considered by themselves.

Columba's piety towards God is evident in every portion of his life, from the first actions, which even in boyhood pointed out the future saint, to his leaving Ireland for Britain, on his pilgrimage for Christ's sake, and from that time to his death before the altar at Iona. How deep an impression it left on his disciples is evident from those very parts of the early Lives which now perplex us. On one occasion, while he was at sea, a tempest came on, and the waves dashed over the ship. He was helping the sailors to bale out the water. "What you now do," they cried, "can be of little use. Pray for us rather, else we perish." He ceased from his work, and standing on the prow, stretched out his hands to heaven, and prayed fervently. That same hour the storm abated.¹

His miraculous cures, his angelical visions, and prophetic revelations, appeared to his followers as the natural and necessary events of their master's life. Hence, in their esteem, he occupied a place next only to that of the twelve Apostles, and his traditions were regarded as of authority sufficient to bind them even against the practice of the Western Church.

His love towards his neighbour was no less manifest than his piety, and trust in God. The pages of Adamnan are full of his acts of charity. To heal the sick, to relieve the poor, and to comfort the afflicted, was his daily task. No grief was too insignificant, no estate of life too humble for his sympathy. When he saw virtue in a heathen, and the requisite desire for a higher gift, he was ever ready to exalt it into Christian holiness, by conferring the grace of baptism.²

Columbanus now met for the last time. Adamnan (lib. i. c. 50) refers to the two saints, on this occasion, as sitting together near a fountain on a calm summer day.

¹ Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 11. It is this event which is commemorated in the armorial bearings of the see of the Isles.

² See the homely but beautiful account of his reconciling a wife to her husband;

It was not his friends and followers alone who experienced his affection. It embraced all without exception; the churlish, whom he strove to win by acts of kindness, and his enemies, whom he endeavoured to convert by returning them good for evil. Having sent his monks, on one occasion, to the ground of a peasant, named Findchan, to gather twigs for the building of a hospice, they reported that the man was much distressed by the loss he had been put to. "Let us not offend him;" said Columba, "carry to him six bushels of barley, and bid him sow his ground with it." There was a thief named Ere, who dwelt in Colonsay, and had come over to Mull with the intention of stealing the sea calves belonging to the monks of Iona. The Saint, knowing where he lay concealed, ordered him to be brought into his presence. "Why," said he, "do you transgress the divine commandment, and take what is not yours. When you are in want, come to us and your necessities will be supplied." So saying, he ordered some wethers to be killed and given him, that he might not go away empty handed.¹

Loving all, he yet loved his own land above others, and even the lower creatures were dearer to him for its sake. At one time, in the island of Iona, he informed a brother of the monastery that a crane would arrive from Ireland, tossed by the winds and weary, and would fall down upon the shore. He told the monk to take the bird, and feed and cherish it for three days; "after which time," he said, "unwilling to remain here, it will return with renewed strength to Ireland, whence it came. And I earnestly commit it to your care because it comes from our own dear land." The crane accordingly arrived, and the monk did as Columba bade. When he returned to the monastery, the Saint thanked him: "God bless you, my son; you have ministered kindly to our stranger guest."²

To the humble penitent he was ever kind and pitiful. When one of this class, named Fechnus, came to Iona, the

Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 42. See also the case of an aged heathen in the isle of Skye, "*Gentilis senex naturale per totam bonum custodiens vitam*," and of another near Loch Ness, who were baptized before their death; Adamnan, lib. i. c. 33; lib. iii. c. 14.

¹ Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 3; lib. i. c. 42.

² Adamnan, lib. i. c. 49.

Saint, aware of his approach, went forth to meet him. Fechnus fell down at his feet, and with bitter tears and groans confessed his sins before all who were present. Columba wept with him. "Arise, my son," he said, "be comforted. The sins which thou hast committed are forgiven thee; for it is written, 'A broken and contrite heart O God, shalt Thou not despise.'"¹

But whilst thus compassionate to the penitent, he boldly rebuked vice, and cared not how powerful the offender might be. There were some wicked men who persecuted the faithful. Although of high rank, being of the regal line of Gauran, and thus his own kinsmen, he excommunicated them. He was then in Himba, and one of their followers rushed upon him with a spear, intending to slay him. A monk, named Finducan, having on a garment of the Saint, threw himself before the assassin, and received the blow, but escaped unhurt.²

Great indeed must have been the effect of the teaching and the miracles, the piety and the charity of Columba. We know that they turned a savage heathen land into a Christian country, and that not in name merely and for a time, but really and for ever. The instruction of the Scots and the conversion of the Picts were something more than a profession of religion by kings and nobles. The people were taught as well as their rulers: the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the artificer, the soldier, and the peasant, all appear in the pages of Adamnan as listening to the doctrines and receiving the sacraments of the Gospel.

After his sojourn in Ireland, subsequently to the Council of Drumceat, Columba returned to Iona, probably towards the end of 590. We may suppose that his last years were spent in

¹ Adamnan, lib. i. c. 30.

² Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 25. In several of the miracles related by Adamnan, while we may well believe the main fact, there is nothing unreasonable in rejecting some of the circumstances mentioned along with it. In the beautiful story of the crane, it is easy to suppose that the bird's alighting on the island, the monk's attention to it by his master's orders, and its return to the west, are true, and that in the course of years it assumed the form of a prophecy. In the same way with regard to the intended murder of Columba, the fact itself, and the extraordinary preservation of his devoted follower, may be relied upon as correct, but we need not believe that the assassin's spear was unable to pierce the cuculla which he wore.

the quiet retirement of his monastery. He had now finished the work for which he had been chosen. He had often prayed that at the end of the thirtieth year of his pilgrimage in Britain he might be allowed to depart; and when that period was accomplished in the summer of 593, he joyfully looked for his release. But his hour was not yet come. The prayers of many that his days might be prolonged ascended to God. It was revealed to him that four years should be added to his life, and that at the end of that time he should be taken to the Lord.¹

The four years were now also approaching to their conclusion, and in the month of April, Columba, for the last time upon earth, kept the great Christian festival. In the following month he was taken out in a waggon, to see the lay brethren who were at work in the western part of the island, and he thus addressed them. "At the late festival I earnestly desired to go away and be with Christ, but I was willing that my departure should yet be delayed for a little while, lest I should turn your Easter joy into sorrow." The brethren listened in deep sadness, but the man of God, sitting in his waggon, and turning his face to the east, blessed the isle and all who dwelt in it. He was then carried back to the monastery.

A few days after, during the celebration of the Eucharist, on Sunday the second of June, Columba saw an angelic vision, and was warned of the day of his death. A sudden glow suffused his face. When the brethren asked the cause, he told them that the angel of the Lord had come to reclaim a deposit dear to God. He spoke of his own soul, but they knew not what was meant.²

On the following Saturday he sent for his attendant, Diermit. They went out together to bless the barn near the monastery. When he saw two heaps of corn piled up, the Saint gave thanks to God that this year also his monks would have bread enough. He then addressed his attendant: "In holy writ, this day is called the Sabbath, which meaneth rest. And truly this day is a Sabbath to me, for it is the last day of my life, on which I am to rest after all my labours. On this sacred night I go the way of my fathers. Christ my

¹ Cuminius, c. xvi. Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 22.

² Cuminius, cc. xvii. xviii. Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 23.

Lord has vouchsafed to invite me, and even so it has been revealed to me by the Lord." Diermit wept bitterly, but the Saint consoled him.

They then went forth and returned towards the monastery. Wearied with the journey, Columba sat down for a little near a cross by the way-side. Here a white horse belonging to the monastery came up, and laid its head on his breast, as if bidding its master farewell. Diermit would have turned it away, but Columba forbade him. "Let our friend alone," he said; "to this dumb irrational creature its Maker has made known, in some way understood by Himself, that its master is about to depart."

Going on his way he ascended a little hill which overlooked the monastery. With uplifted hands he blessed it, and said, "This place, small and mean as it appears, shall be honoured, not only by the kings of the Scots and their people, but by the rulers of strange nations, and those subject to them. By the holy men also of other Churches, it shall be held in reverence."

Descending from the eminence he returned to the monastery. Sitting down in his cell, he went on transcribing a copy of the Psalter, in which he had been engaged. Coming to that verse of the thirty-fourth Psalm, where it is written, "They who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good;" "Here," said he, "I must stop—at the end of this page; what follows let Baithen write." His biographers point out how suitable these words were to the dying saint; and they dwell on the next verse of the Psalm, "Come, ye children, and hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord," as marking the character of the spiritual father and teacher in Baithen, thus pointed out as his successor.

He then went to the church to attend the vesper service, and when it was over returned to his cell. Reclining on his couch of stone, with Diermit alone beside, he gave, through him, his parting commands to the brethren: "These, my children, are my last words. Have peace and unfeigned charity one with another; and if so you follow the example of the saints, God, the comforter of the good, will be your helper, and I, dwelling with Him, will intercede for you, and so not only what is necessary for this life shall be given you

in all abundance, but the eternal rewards shall be also yours, which are laid up for those that keep his commandments."

The hour of his departure was drawing near, and the Saint was silent. The bell of the monastery sounded at midnight for the nocturnal office. Rising from his couch, he went to the church, and was the first to enter it. Diermit followed him, crying out with a mournful voice, "Where art thou, O my father?" Feeling his way through the darkness, he found Columba prostrate before the altar. Raising him a little, and sitting down by him, he laid the Saint's head on his bosom. The other monks, running in with lights, beheld their dying father, and burst into lamentations; but Columba, opening his eyes, looked round him with a countenance full of wonderful serenity and joy. Diermit lifted up his right hand, that he might bless the monks, and himself raising it with all his remaining strength, he thus gave them the blessing which he could not utter. Having so done, he yielded up his soul. His face retained its serene smile, and it seemed as if he had not died, but had fallen into a gentle sleep.¹

Columba died early in the morning of Sunday, the ninth day of June, in the year of our Lord 597, being then in the seventy-sixth year of his age.²

¹ Cuminius, c. xix.-xxii. Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 23. In the account of St. Columba's decease, as in other portions of this work, the language of the authorities quoted is sometimes used.

² There can hardly be a doubt as to the true date of Columba's decease. Reference may be made to what has been said in connection with his birth, and his arrival in Britain. This last date, as already explained, has been established to be the year 563. Adamnan says (lib. iii. c. 1), "*per annos triginta quatuor insulannus miles est versatus.*" This brings his decease down to 597. The day on which he died was Sunday, and from the narrative we also learn that it must have been in the end of May or the beginning of June. The ninth of June is the day named in the Annals of Tighearnach, Innisfallen, and Ulster (*Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 216); and also in those of Clonmacnois, and the Four Masters (*Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 215, and note); though these last differ as to the year. That day has always been observed by the Church as the festival of the Saint, and it was so noted in all the Martyrologies. It has been shewn that Bede really agrees with Adamnan as to the year. "The only other year to which Columba's death could with any plausibility be assigned is 596. But in opposition to this we have the admitted fact that he died on the ninth of June. Now Adamnan, as we have seen, positively informs us that it was early on Sunday morning; and it is known that the ninth of June fell on Sunday in 597, whereas, in 596, it fell on the tenth." (Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 247.) Sunday, the ninth of June, 597, is also the date fixed by Usher (*Brit. Eccles.*

The body of the Saint remained in the church while matins were sung. It was then removed to the cell whence he had so lately come, the brethren chanting psalms as they carried it. For three days and three nights the obsequies were duly celebrated, and then the body, wrapt in linen, was laid in the tomb. The stone pillow on which he used to lay his head was afterwards set up beside the grave.¹

Ant.—Works, vol. vi. p. 235) ; although by some mistake the eleventh of June is mentioned in his Chronological Index (*ibid*, p. 599). See also Dr. Reeves' Adamnan, p. 309-312, additional notes.

¹ Cuminus, cc. xxi. xxiii. Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 23. See also Bede, lib. iii. c. 4.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF ST. COLUMBA IN 597, TO THE DEATH OF
ST. AIDAN IN 651.

*Succession of the Abbots of Iona — Baithen — Laisrean —
Virgnous — Segenius — Paschal controversy — Letter of
Cummian — Oswald, King of Northumbria — Mission of
St. Aidan to Northumbria — See and Monastery of Lindis-
farne — Foundation of Melrose — The Abbess Hilda —
Oswin, King of Deira — Death of Aidan — His character.*

ST. COLUMBA had founded many monasteries in Ireland ; he was the teacher of the British Scots, and the apostle of the Northern Picts. He became, in consequence, the chief ruler both of the Scottish and of the Pictish Church, and at the same time exercised extensive authority in Ireland. The jurisdiction and influence thus acquired did not die with himself. His island monastery continued to be the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Scots and Picts, and its abbot was also the superior of all the Irish establishments of Columba's erection. It was a rule of the community of Iona that the succeeding abbots should be priests, not bishops, because Columba himself was only a priest ; and even the bishops within the wide territory, over which the authority of the monastery extended, were subject to the jurisdiction of its presbyter-abbot. The nature and extent of the unusual authority thus exercised by Columba and his successors will afterwards be explained ; in the meantime it will be sufficient to state, that the Abbots of Iona were for many years, in point of fact, the Primates of Northern Scotland, and their monastery the centre of ecclesiastical government and religious enterprise.

On the death of Columba, his kinsman, Baithen, was chosen to succeed him. As already mentioned, he was one of the twelve disciples who accompanied the Saint to Britain, and for some time was superior of the monastery of Campus-Lunge, in Ethica. The dying words of Columba, when finishing his transcript of the Psalter, were looked upon as prophetic of Baithen's succession, and he was universally

esteemed worthy of the high honour thus bestowed upon him.¹ No remarkable event is recorded in connection with the short period of his primacy. He died in the sixty-sixth year of his age, precisely twelve months after his master, and his festival, in consequence, was observed on the same day—the ninth of June.²

There is some difficulty as to the next Abbot of Iona. In the list given by Usher, and adopted by Pinkerton,³ Virgnous is mentioned as the immediate successor of Baithen, but there is good authority for supposing that Laisrean was abbot for some years. He is so named in the Annals of Tighernac, and of the Four Masters; and Lanigan thinks it most probable that such was actually the case. He was the son of Feradach, and a disciple of Columba, and at one time presided over the monastery of Durrow. He died in 605.⁴

Laisrean was succeeded by Virgnous, or, as he is sometimes called, Fergna. He also had been a disciple of Columba, and was distinguished by his good disposition and fervent piety.⁵ During his primacy an event took place which led to most important results. Ethelfrid, the warlike heathen King of Northumbria, who had defeated the Scottish Aidan at the great battle of Degsestan, was himself defeated and slain in the year 617, by Redwald of East Anglia, and Edwin, son of Ella, whom he had formerly driven from his kingdom of

¹ Adamnan, lib. i. c. 2. The same writer mentions (lib. i. c. 23) that Baithen himself, on a previous occasion, had been engaged in a transcript of the Psalter, which was so accurately executed that there was not a single mistake, except one omission of the vowel I.

² Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 46. Annals of Tighernac—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 160. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 33. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 221. Annals of Clonmacnois, note, *ibid.* The various annals, as usual, do not agree as to the year, but 598 is that fixed by Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—Works, vol. vi. p. 600), and acquiesced in by Lanigan (vol. ii. p. 250), in conformity with their computation as to St. Columba. See also the Obits of Christ Church, Dublin, p. lxiii., containing a reference to the Acts of Baithen, in the Collection of the Bollandists.

³ See *Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—Works, vol. vi. p. 245, and *Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 27.

⁴ See Annals of Tighernac—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 179; Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 229, and note, p. 228; Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 348; Adamnan, lib. i. cc. 12, 29. Adamnan makes no allusion to his being Abbot of Iona, as he does in regard to the others who held that office, when he has occasion to name them; but this negative argument is not sufficient to throw doubt on the direct statements of the annalists.

⁵ Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 19.

Deira. Edwin now became King of Northumbria; and Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswy, and the other sons of Ethelfrid, fled for refuge to the Picts and Scots. They were hospitably welcomed in Northern Britain, and having been instructed in the faith received the sacrament of baptism. Oswald was about thirteen years of age when he and his brethren fled from England.¹ It was the Scottish tradition that Iona was the place where the Northumbrian princes were educated and baptized, and all that we know from authentic history leads us to believe that the tradition may be accepted as true.²

Virgnous died on the second day of March, 623, and was succeeded by Segenius.³ The events by which the primacy of Segenius was chiefly distinguished, were—the commencement of the Paschal controversy, and the Scottish mission to Northumbria.

The disputes which took place in the ancient Church regarding the time of celebrating the festival of Easter are well known. These differences were authoritatively settled at the Council of Nice, and from that date such as obstinately insisted on observing the fourteenth day of the moon, on whatever day of the week it fell, in accordance with the Jewish computation of the Passover, and in opposition to the usages of the universal Church, were looked upon as schismatics, and received the name of Quarto-decimans. The erroneous practice of this sect was never received by any of the British or Irish Churches, for they invariably kept the feast on the Sunday. Their rule was probably the same with that of

¹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 308. Bede, lib. iii. c. i. We know the age of Oswald at this time, from being told that at his death, in 642, he was in his thirty-eighth year. (Bede, lib. iii. c. 9.)

² Lanigan contends (vol. ii. pp. 417, 418) that it was in Ireland Oswald and his brethren found shelter, but the narrative of Bede gives no support to this opinion. When Bede connects the Scots with the Picts, he must mean the Scots in Britain. That the Northumbrian princes resided, for some time at least, in Iona, is probable from the whole import of Bede's narrative, taken in connection with the mission of Aidan. The very expression of the historian, "Scotos sive Pictos," may thus be explained by the fact that Iona was the common ecclesiastical metropolis of both nations.

³ Annals of Tighearnach—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 186. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 41. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 245. The Four Masters call Virgnous a bishop. This is evidently a mistake. Reference is made to Segenius the abbot by Adamnan, lib. i. c. 3, and lib. ii. c. 4.

Rome at the time of the Nicene synod. Subsequently, however, a new and more correct mode of computation was adopted throughout the Western Church; but in Britain, then distracted by the Saxon invasions, and in Ireland, far removed from the other portions of Christendom, the old calculation was still observed. So it continued to be when St. Augustine landed in Kent. He found that the British Church held a different rule from that of Rome in the calculation of Easter, and it was soon ascertained that in this respect the Picts, and the whole nation of the Scots in both islands, agreed with the Britons. Thenceforth it became a chief object with the Roman missionaries, and with those who adopted their system, to reduce the Churches of Britain and Ireland to conformity with the rest of Christendom.¹

The efforts of the Roman clergy were first successful among those who were farthest removed from them, while the Britons, to whom they were nearest in situation, were the last to conform. Laurence, the successor of St. Augustine in the see of Canterbury, and the bishops, Mellitus and Justus, addressed an epistle to the bishops and abbots of Ireland, on the subject of the difference between them; and Pope Honorius I. afterwards wrote to them on the same point. In consequence of the letter of Honorius, a synod was held at Leighlin in the year 630, at which it was agreed to conform to the practice of the rest of the Catholic Church in regard to the celebration of Easter. This resolution was confirmed by the report made by a deputation which was sent soon afterwards to Rome; and from that time the erroneous usage was abandoned by the Scots who inhabited the southern parts of Ireland, while those of the north and of Britain still adhered to their former custom.

Among the chief opponents of the Roman practice were Segenius and the convent of Iona; while one of the most learned of its supporters was Cummián, a monk, as is supposed, of the Columbite monastery of Durrow. It was to defend himself to the head of his order, that Cummián, about the

¹ On the subject of the successive changes which took place in the mode of calculating the Easter festival, and the practice of the British and Irish Churches on this point, reference may be made to the fifteenth chapter of Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, and to a note on the Paschal canon, by Bishop Russell, in his edition of Archbishop Spottiswood's History, vol. i. p. 47-50.

year 634, wrote the Apology, which has happily been preserved. "Very ably," says Lanigan, "has he executed his task. Besides a multitude of texts of Scripture, he quotes passages from Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and Gregory the Great. He refers also to councils, and dives into the intricacies of the Paschal computations, resting his arguments partly on the origin and nature of the Paschal solemnity, and partly on authority, particularly that of the great body of the Catholic Church. Laying great stress on the doctrine of St. Cyprian and other holy fathers concerning the unity of the Church, he says, 'Can any thing more pernicious be conceived as to the mother Church than to say: Rome errs; Jerusalem errs; Alexandria errs; Antioch errs; the whole world errs; the Scots and Britons alone are right.' Cummin's knowledge of Greek is discoverable, and perhaps too much so, in this tract, which, on the whole, exhibits an extraordinary degree of learning of various kinds, and shews how well-stocked with books, considering the times, the Irish libraries were at that period, and with what ardour the students made use of them."¹ In the year 640, a letter on the subject of this controversy was written to the Church of Rome by several of the chief ecclesiastics connected with the north of Ireland. Before it could be answered, the Roman see was vacant by the death of Pope Severinus, and a reply was sent by the clergy of that Church. It was addressed "To the most beloved and holy Thomian, Columban, Croman, Dina, and Baithan, bishops, Croman, Ernian, Laistran, Scellan, and Segenus, priests, and Saran, and the other doctors or abbots of the Scots."² It is generally supposed that the Segenus here mentioned was the Abbot of Iona. It is more probable, however, as Lanigan conjectures,³ that he was one of the other persons of the same name who are known to have lived in Ireland at that time; since it is not likely that the

¹ Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 395, 396. The expression used by Lanigan, "the mother Church," is hardly a correct translation of the "*Ecclesia mater*" of the original, and may even mislead. See Cummin's Letter in Usher's *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*—Works, vol. iv. p. 432-444.

² See the letter of the Roman clergy, so far as preserved, in Bede, lib. ii. c. 19, and in Usher's *Sylloge*—Works, vol. iv. pp. 427, 428.

³ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 415.

Abbot of Iona would have been disposed even to enter into a negotiation on the point.

The other and much more important event, which marked the primacy of Segenius, may now be related. It was formerly mentioned that there were some individuals of Saxon birth among the converts of Columba; and we may hope, though we have no certain knowledge, that the preaching of St. Kentigern was not entirely confined to his own countrymen in Strathclyde. But the Saxons, as a nation, were still heathens when Columba died. In the very year of the departure of the great Scottish saint, Augustine arrived in Kent. The conversion of King Ethelbert and his subjects was followed by that of the East Saxons. On the accession of Edwin to the throne of Northumbria, after the defeat of Ethelfrid, that kingdom was converted by the preaching of Paulinus; and by means of the Northumbrian sovereign the Christian faith was likewise established in East Anglia.

In the year 633, Edwin was defeated and slain at Hatfield, near the Don, by Cadwalla, King of the Britons, and Penda, King of Mercia. When the sons of Ethelfrid heard of this event, they returned from their residence among the Scots, and Eanfrid, the eldest, became sovereign of his paternal kingdom of Bernicia. Osric, a cousin of Edwin's, was at the same time acknowledged King of Deira. Eanfrid, as already stated, had with his brethren been baptized while in exile, and Osric had been converted by Paulinus; but both sovereigns apostatized from the faith, and both were slain by Cadwalla. On the death of his brother, Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrid, raised a small army and advanced against the British king. Before the engagement began, we are told that with his own hand he fixed a cross in the ground, and thus addressed his soldiers; "Let us all bend the knee and together implore the Almighty Lord, the Living and the True, to deliver us in his mercy from our proud and cruel foe. For He knoweth that we are fighting in a just war for the safety of our nation." They did as their king commanded, and then attacked the enemy. Cadwalla was routed and slain. He was the last of the British kings who contended strenuously against the Saxons, but though ruling a Christian people, he was as distinguished for his cruelty as for his

courage and ability. The place where Oswald's victory was gained was known in the English tongue by the name of Heavenfield, and was situated near the Roman wall, not far from Hexham.¹

Oswald was now acknowledged as King of all Northumbria, and soon attained the still higher dignity of Bretwalda. One of his first cares was to provide for the religious instruction of his subjects. The Northumbrian Church at this time was in a very distracted condition. On the death of Edwin, the archbishop, Paulinus, had fled from York, along with the widow and children of that sovereign, and had found refuge in Kent. He was there appointed to the see of Rochester, and never returned to his northern diocese. Paulinus had left behind him his deacon, James, who did all in his power to preserve the faith among the Angles. But the savage inroads of Penda and Cadwalla, and the apostasy of Eanfrid and Osric, must have produced the worst effects. Without a bishop, the newly planted Church seemed as if about to perish.

Oswald naturally sought for help where he himself had found relief and spiritual illumination. He entreated the elders of the Scots to send a bishop to Northumbria, and his request was immediately granted. A prelate was sent, but the choice proved an unfortunate one: he was too severe in his disposition, and after preaching for some time among the Angles to little purpose he returned to his own land. A council was held to deliberate as to what was now to be done. The bishop had reported that those to whom he was sent were intractable persons, of a rough and savage character. Aidan, a monk of Iona, was present at the synod. Turning to the unsuccessful bishop, he thus addressed him: "I think, brother, you have been more harsh than you should have been towards your uninstructed hearers; and in your treatment of them have forgotten the apostolic discipline, first to feed them with the milk of milder doctrine, until, nourished by degrees with the word of God, they be able to comprehend and observe the more perfect and sublime precepts of the divine law." When Aidan had thus spoken, "all eyes," it is mentioned, "were turned upon him. They carefully

¹ Bede, lib. iii. cc. 1.2.

considered what he had said, and pronounced him worthy of the episcopate, and a fit teacher of the ignorant and unbelieving, who was thus gifted with discretion, the mother of all virtues. Therefore ordaining him bishop they sent him forth to preach the Gospel."¹

We are not told where this synod was held, or who were its members; but it has generally been taken for granted that it met at Iona. There is every reason to believe that this was really the case. We know that Aidan belonged to that monastery, and that he was sent thence on his mission, while Segenius was abbot. We are further expressly told that those from whom Oswald requested a bishop were the elders of the Scots, among whom he himself and his companions in exile had been baptized.² All this, as already intimated, points to the kingdoms of the Picts and the British Scots as the residence of the Northumbrian princes, and we may hence conclude that the elders who met to consider the request of King Oswald were the Abbot of Iona, and the monks who formed his ecclesiastical council, and who, with him, were the spiritual rulers of the two nations. Iona was their common metropolis, and in that island, most probably, the synod assembled, and made choice of a monk of the chief monastery to go on the Northumbrian mission. Some obscurity and difficulty there must be where we have no distinct narrative of what took place; but the circumstances which have been mentioned entirely agree with the notices in Bede, and explain the doubts about the place of King Oswald's exile. The council, which thus resolved to continue the effort already made for the conversion of Northumbria, is the earliest synod of the Scottish Church in Britain of which a record has been preserved.

Hitherto the course of our ecclesiastical history has been confined to a narrow channel. The stream now widens, while we accompany the Northumbrian bishop to his new country.

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 5. This narrative is prefixed with "*ferunt autem*," but there is no reason to doubt its truth. Fordun (lib. iii. c. 43) relates it in the words of Bede. Boece, as usual, enlarges on his predecessors, and tells us that the first bishop's name was Cormac, and that when sent to Northumbria, "he was so curious in his theology that his sermon apperit mair for vane ostentatioun and pride, than ony doctrine, to the pepill." (Bellenden's Boece, vol. ii. p. 105.)

² Bede, lib. iii. cc. 3, 5.

While the events to be mentioned thus become more complicated, we fortunately possess a record of them, as authentic and minute as it is interesting and beautiful, in the pages of Venerable Bede, who lived in St. Aidan's diocese, and had conversed with his disciples.

Aidan arrived in Northumbria in the year 635, and at his own request King Oswald assigned him the island of Lindisfarne for his see.¹ Lindisfarne, to which in after times the name of Holy Isle became appropriated more generally even than to Iona itself, was not far from Bamborough, the royal seat of the Bretwalda. The old Saxon kings seldom resided in the cities which still remained in Britain, and in this respect the Scottish bishops resembled them, differing from the practice of the Roman missionaries. These bishops looked upon themselves as set over nations rather than dioceses, and preferred the lonely island and remote wilderness to the town. Paulinus had erected his cathedral at York, but the Roman capital was now deserted both by the King and by the Bishop of Northumbria.

Lindisfarne was nearly of the same extent as Iona, being rather more than two miles long, and a mile and a half broad. But though the see of Aidan was narrow, his diocese was extensive.² It embraced the whole of Bernicia and Deira; the Humber and the Forth being its southern and northern limits, and its western boundary being the march between the English kingdom and the territory of the independent Britons. Over this wide region Aidan exercised episcopal jurisdiction, but without the metropolitan dignity which Paulinus had enjoyed.

Northumbria, especially the kingdom of Bernicia, had been only partially Christian, and now, after the late disasters, the work of conversion had almost to be begun anew. The first task of Aidan, as of Columba, probably was to erect a church and monastery. They were established on the model of Iona, with this important difference, that at Lindisfarne the abbot, who presided over the monastery, occupied his proper place in subordination to the bishop. The bishop

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 3.

² "Quantumvis autem arcta fuerit sedes, diocesis erat latissima." Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 691.

himself lived a monastic life with his priests, deacons, and other ecclesiastics, and so the practice continued long after St. Colman had retired from Holy Isle.¹ In this monastery, and in others which were afterwards erected, the youth of Northumbria were carefully educated, and fitted for becoming, as they grew up, the teachers of their nation. Aidan himself set an example in this respect, by selecting, at the commencement of his episcopate, twelve English boys to be trained under his own eye, one of whom, Eata, afterwards became his successor in the bishopric of Lindisfarne.²

Having thus established a centre for his missionary exertions, Aidan proceeded with his efforts to evangelize Northumbria. When it became known that the work was begun, many labourers arrived to offer their assistance, chiefly monks from the country of the Scots.³ But his best minister was Oswald himself. Aidan was not yet able to speak freely in the English tongue, and the king, who in exile had learned the language of the Scots, interpreted the doctrine of the bishop to his nobles and servants. A beautiful sight indeed, as the historian remarks—and once again to be witnessed after four hundred years, when an English princess repaid to the Scots the debt which her country owed to Aidan.

The most useful lesson received from Aidan was taught by his own holy life. "He neither loved nor coveted the things of this world. Whatever gifts he received from princes or great men

¹ "Siquidem a temporibus ibidem antiquis, et episcopus cum clero, et abbas solebat manere cum monachis; qui tamen et ipsi ad curam episcopi familiariter pertinerent. Quia nimirum, Ædan, qui primus ejus loci episcopus fuit, cum monachis illuc et ipse monachus adveniens, monachicam in eo conversationem instituit; quomodo et prius beatus pater Augustinus in Cantia fecisse noscitur." Bede, lib. iv. c. 27. "Aidan quippe, qui primus ejusdem loci episcopus fuit, monachus erat et monachicam cum suis omnibus vitam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut regente monasterium abbate, quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, cæterique gradus ecclesiastici, monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam servant." Bede, Vita Cuthberti, c. xvi. Here and afterwards, where Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert is referred to, it is the prose Life which is meant.

² Bede, lib. iii. c. 26.

³ Bede, lib. iii. c. 3. It is of course a mistake in our old writers to suppose that these missionaries all came from Scotland, in the modern sense of the word, but Lanigan, and the Irish authors generally, are equally erroneous in asserting that they were all from Ireland.

he immediately bestowed on the poor. Wherever he journeyed, in town or in country, he went on foot, unless when necessity compelled him to do otherwise. Whomsoever he met on the way, whether rich or poor, he stopped to converse with them; if they were still heathens, he exhorted them to receive the sacrament of the faith, if they were Christians he strengthened them in their belief, and encouraged them to the performance of almsgiving and all good works." These and kindred details, which the historian supplies, enable us to understand the reality and permanent character of the national conversion which Aidan effected in Northumbria.¹

Besides Lindisfarne, another famous monastic establishment which owed its origin to St. Aidan deserves to be particularly mentioned, both from the important circumstances connected with its history, and as being situated within the bounds of modern Scotland. Bede gives no direct account of the foundation of Melrose, but we know from his Life of St. Cuthbert that it must have been erected while Aidan was bishop.² The first Abbot of Melrose was Eata, and under him, at the time of Aidan's death, and when Cuthbert became a monk there, Boisil was prior. Eata, as formerly mentioned, was one of the twelve Saxon disciples of the bishop, and Boisil, certainly of English origin, was probably likewise of their number.

To Aidan also Northumbria was indebted for the establishment of a female monastic institute. The first nun who received the habit was named Heiu. She was consecrated by Aidan, and presided for some time over a monastery at Hartlepool. On her leaving Hartlepool, Hilda, a lady of the royal house of Edwin, and who at the bishop's request had lately returned from Gaul, became abbess of that monastery.³ Hilda was one of the most distinguished of Aidan's scholars, and the piety and prudence which uniformly marked her character, as well as the attachment which she showed to the Scottish usages, are the best evidence of the attention she gave to her master's lessons.

On the fifth of August, 642, Aidan lost his sovereign and

¹ Bede, lib. iii. cc. 3, 5.

² Compare Vita Cuthberti, cc. iv. and vi.

³ Bede, lib. iv. c. 23.

friend. Oswald fell in battle, probably at Oswestry in Shropshire, fighting for his country against the same heathen King of Mercia by whom Edwin had been slain. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the ninth of his reign.

Oswald was succeeded in the kingdom of Bernicia, and after some time in the dignity of Bretwalda, by his next brother, Oswy, who also had been educated among the Scots. For several years in the beginning of his reign, Oswin, son of the apostate Osric, ruled over the province of Deira. Oswin in character bore no resemblance to his father. He rather strove to imitate the virtues of Oswald. Like him he was greatly attached to Aidan; and the bishop, in turn, loved the king with true affection. The humility of Oswin was particularly conspicuous, and Bede relates a remarkable instance of it. Although Aidan generally travelled on foot, the king made him a present of a fine horse for his accommodation in crossing a river or the like necessity. Soon afterwards, a poor man met the bishop, and asked for alms. He immediately dismounted and gave him the horse with its rich housings. The king, having been told what had taken place, thus addressed the bishop, who was about to dine at the royal table; "Why did you, my lord bishop, give my horse to a beggar, when you ought to have kept it, as was proper, to yourself? Had we not other horses of less value, and of a different sort, which you might have bestowed upon the poor, without giving away that one which I had specially chosen for your own use?" The bishop replied, "What words are these, O king? Was this foal of a mare dearer to you than that son of God?" The king, who had come from the chase, stood for some time in the hall, warming himself at the fire; then all at once recollecting what Aidan had said, he ungirt his sword, and giving it to an attendant, fell down at the bishop's feet, entreating his forgiveness. "For from this time forth," he said, "I shall speak no more of what has been done, nor shall I judge what, or how much of my money, you bestow on the sons of God." The bishop arose much moved, and raising up the king said that he was entirely reconciled, and entreated him to forget his grief and sit down to the banquet. The king at these words recovered his cheerfulness, but the bishop in turn became sad, and shed

tears. One of his Scottish priests who was with him asked in their own language, which the king and others present did not understand, why he wept. "I know," he said, "that the king will not live long, for I never saw so humble a prince. And I am persuaded he will soon be taken from this life, since his nation is not worthy to enjoy such a ruler."¹

The prediction or foreboding of the Saint was soon afterwards accomplished. Oswin was slain by order of King Oswy, at Gilling, near the modern Richmond, on the twentieth day of August, 651. Oswy subsequently repented of the crime, and on the spot where Oswin was put to death, a monastery was erected, in expiation of the murderer's guilt.²

Aidan did not long survive King Oswin. He died on the thirty-first day of the same month, in the seventeenth year of his episcopate. His decease took place at Bamborough, and his body was brought from thence to Lindisfarne, and interred in the cemetery of the brethren. When the new church was afterwards built and dedicated, his bones were translated thither, and deposited at the right side of the altar.³ The day of his decease was of old observed as his festival throughout Scotland.⁴ The narrative of Aidan's life is the best illustration of his virtues. The historian seems to linger with affection on the beautiful picture of the Scottish saint which his pages contain—"his love of peace and charity, of continence and humility; his mind superior to anger and covetousness, and despising pride and vain glory; his unwearied zeal in keeping and in teaching the divine commandments; his diligence in reading and in watching; his authority, becoming a priest, in reproving the haughty and

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 14.

² Bede, lib. iii. cc. 14, 24.

³ Bede, lib. iii. cc. 14, 17.

⁴ It is unnecessary to enter on an examination of the miracles ascribed to Aidan. Southey, in his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (p. 195-197), has made some remarks on two of them; and in another passage (p. 112-122) he has discussed the general character of the miraculous narratives given by Bede. The strongest point in his argument is the circumstance which he mentions—and it is certainly a remarkable one—that no miracle is recorded by the historian on his own personal knowledge. Many of Mr. Southey's statements may be admitted, without necessarily adopting his conclusions. The miraculous narratives of Bede are discussed much more fairly by Dr. Arnold, in his *Lectures on Modern History* (3d ed. p. 99-107).

the powerful ; and his kindness in comforting the afflicted, and relieving and protecting the poor." "In this," he continues, "I praise him not, that he did not observe Easter at the proper time, either through ignorance, or in deference to the authority of his nation. Yet this I approve in him, that in the celebration of his Easter, what in thought he dwelt upon, and revered, and preached, was even as it is with us—the redemption of mankind, by the passion, resurrection, and ascension of the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus. And therefore he did not keep the feast, as some falsely suppose, on the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week it might be, as the Jews do, but always on Sunday, from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon : and this from his belief in the resurrection of our Lord, which took place on the first day of the week ; and his hope in our resurrection, which he, with the holy Church, believed would truly come to pass on the same first day of the week, now called the Lord's day." And again Bede bears witness both to his virtues and to his prudence, when he tells us that the differences between the Scottish and the Roman party were patiently borne with, while Aidan lived ; for all understood that "although he could not keep Easter contrary to the usage of those who sent him, he diligently strove to perform, with all saints, the works of faith, piety, and charity ; and so was deservedly loved by all, even by those who differed from him, and was had in reverence, not only by the people generally, but likewise by the bishops, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East Angles." ¹

¹ Bede, lib. iii. cc. 17, 25.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF ST. AIDAN IN 651, TO THE COUNCIL OF WHITBY
IN 664.

Suibne, Abbot of Iona—Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarne—Conversion of the Middle Angles, Mercians, and East Saxons—Cuminus, Abbot of Iona—Paschal controversy—Death of Finan—Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne—Controversy as to the Tonsure—Council of Whitby—Decision of the Council—Character of the Scottish Missionaries—Death of St. Colman.

SEGENIUS, Abbot of Iona, died in the year 652, and was succeeded by Suibne, son of Curthri.¹ In the last year of the primacy of Segenius, Finan was ordained and sent from Iona as successor to St. Aidan in the bishopric of Northumbria. He built a church at Lindisfarne, not of stone, but of hewn oak, and thatched with reeds, after the manner of the Scots. It was afterwards dedicated to St. Peter by Archbishop Theodore, and, during the episcopate of Eadbert, the immediate successor of St. Cuthbert in the see of Lindisfarne, the reeds were removed, and both roof and walls were covered with lead.

Finan was deficient in the gentle and winning temper, by means of which Aidan had not only gained the heathens of Northumbria, but had been successful in what was perhaps as difficult a task—the preventing dissension between the adherents of the Roman and the Scottish usages. In other respects he was an admirable prelate, and by his means Almighty God was pleased to bring further portions of the English nation to a knowledge of the truth.²

The year 653, the second of Finan's episcopate, was distinguished by the conversion of the Middle Angles. Peada, son of Penda King of Mercia, who ruled under his father the province of the Middle Angles, visited Northumbria, and

¹ Annals of Tighernac—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 199. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 50.

² Bede, lib. iii. cc. 17, 25.

asked Alchfleda, the daughter of Oswy, in marriage. He was told by the king that his request could not be granted, unless he became a Christian. Alchfrid, son of Oswy, was already married to a sister of Peadar, and chiefly by his persuasion the Prince of the Middle Angles was converted. Peadar professed his readiness to receive the Christian religion, even if the maiden should not be given to him. With the nobles and soldiers who had accompanied him, and all their attendants, he was baptized by Finan, at a residence of King Oswy, in the neighbourhood of the Roman wall.¹

Peadar returned to his own province, accompanied by four priests, whom Finan judged the fittest, from their learning and holy lives, to instruct his subjects. These priests were Ceddo, Adda, Betti, and Diuna; the three first being of English race, the last a Scot. Arriving in the country of the Middle Angles, they preached the Gospel to the people, and many of all ranks were converted and baptized. They also extended their labours to Mercia; nor did Penda seek to hinder such of his subjects, as were so disposed, from embracing the Christian religion. He even shewed contempt for those who, holding the faith of Christ, did not live according to their profession.²

The career of the old heathen King of Mercia was now drawing to a close. Notwithstanding the double ties of affinity by which he was connected with Oswy, he wasted Northumbria by successive invasions. Oswy proffered the most magnificent gifts in order to obtain peace, but Penda would listen to no terms. The Northumbrian king betook himself to prayer. "If the Pagan," he said, "will not accept our gifts, let us offer them to Him who will." He vowed that if successful in battle he would dedicate his daughter to serve God in holy virginity, and bestow twelve estates for the endowment of monasteries. Oswy and his son Alchfrid, with their little army, encountered the numerous host of the Mercians. The heathens were utterly routed, and Penda himself was slain. This battle was fought on the banks of the Aire, in the year 655. King Oswy fulfilled his vow, and sent his daughter Elfleda, then a year old, to Hilda's monastery

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 21.

² *Ibid.*

of Hartlepool. Elfreda accompanied Hilda when she removed to Whitby, and finally succeeded her as superior of that monastery.¹

In consequence of this victory, Oswy for a time subjected Mercia to his dominion, and the Church, which had been merely tolerated by Penda, was established there, as in the other Saxon kingdoms. Diuma, the Scot, was consecrated by Finan Bishop of the Mercians, and of the people of Lindsey, and the Middle Angles; and during his brief episcopate converted many. He was succeeded by Kellach, also a Scot, who after a short time resigned his bishopric, and returned to Iona whence he had come. His successor was Trumhere, an Englishman, but educated and ordained by the Scots, and previously Abbot of the monastery erected on the spot where Oswin was slain. After three years subjection to Oswy, the kingdom of Mercia recovered its independence. Peada in the interval had been murdered, but Wulfhere, a younger son of Penda, became king, and zealously supported the efforts of Trumhere for the conversion of his people.²

About the same time that the Middle Angles were first converted, Finan was instrumental in restoring the East Saxons to the faith. They had remained idolaters since their apostasy after the death of King Sebert, and the expulsion of Mellitus, the first Bishop of London of the Roman succession. Sigebert, who was now their sovereign, was intimate with Oswy, and visited him frequently. Persuaded by the exhortations of the Northumbrian king, he also embraced the truth, and was baptized by Finan at the same place where Peada had been made a Christian. He requested Oswy to provide him with teachers for the conversion of his subjects. Cedd was accordingly recalled from the province of the Middle Angles, and, with another priest as his companion, was sent to instruct the inhabitants of Essex, many of whom listened to their teaching. Some time afterwards, Cedd, having occasion to revisit his own country, came to Lindisfarne to confer with the bishop. Finan, finding how the work of the Gospel had prospered by his means, judged him worthy of the episcopate. Calling therefore two other bishops

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 24.

² Bede, lib. iii. cc. 21, 24.

to his assistance in the ministry of ordination, he consecrated Cedd, and appointed him Bishop of the East Saxons. Returning to his province, Cedd resumed his labours with higher authority, erecting churches in various places, and ordaining priests and deacons to assist him in his task. He also established in Essex two religious communities, subject to such rules as the people were yet able to bear: one of these was near Maldon, the other at Tilbury, on the Thames.¹

After he was Bishop of the East Saxons, Cedd still continued occasionally to visit Northumbria. At this time a son of King Oswald, named Ethelwald, ruled part of Deira. He entreated Cedd to accept from him a piece of ground for the erection of a monastery to which he might occasionally retire, and where his body might afterwards rest. The bishop acceded to his wish, and made choice of a place situated in a remote and steep mountain tract. Here he erected and consecrated the monastery of Lastingham, and provided it with a rule similar to that of Lindisfarne, where he had himself been educated.²

Such was the series of events by which the Christian religion was established among the Mercians and Middle Angles, and restored among the East Saxons. It will thus be seen that during the episcopate of Finan the influence of the Scottish Church was extended, in a greater or less degree, over all the English provinces, from the Forth to the Thames.³ East Anglia was the only kingdom, within these limits, which was more closely connected with Rome and Canterbury, than with Iona and Lindisfarne.

Suibne, Abbot of Iona, died in the year 657.⁴ He was succeeded by Cuminius Albus, the biographer of St. Columba.

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 22.

² Bede, lib. iii. c. 23.

³ "Per hos igitur sanctissimos viros, agentibus Scotorum regibus ac cleri majoribus, episcopos Aidanum, Finanum, et Colmannum, sive per se sive per alios quos ipsi consecratos Anglis dederunt episcopos ac sacerdotes, cum aliis doctoribus, regna quatuor, duo videlicet Northumbriorum, Merciorum, Middil-Anglorum, et media pars regni Saxonum Orientalium usque Thamensis pene fluvii ripam, ad Christum conversa sunt, ac eorum reges cum indigenis in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis baptizati, necnon operibus fidei docti fideliter et informati." *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 47.

⁴ *Annals of Tighernac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. i. p. 201. *Annals of Ulster*—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 53. See also *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 267,

Meanwhile the dispute about the proper time for celebrating Easter, which during the episcopate of Aidan had excited no differences in Northumbria, began to be agitated with great keenness. On the one side was the bishop, Finan, assisted by the whole influence of his nation in Britain and Northern Ireland, and by the authority of the parent monastery of Iona. On the other were those of the clergy who had come from Kent or Gaul, encouraged by the sympathy and support of Canterbury and the Roman see. None of the foreign clergy was a stronger advocate for the canonical Easter than a Scot, of the name of Ronan, who had been educated on the continent. He endeavoured to bring Finan to a conformity with his views, but was unsuccessful in the attempt. His arguments rather irritated the warm temper of the bishop, and made him less disposed to listen to any reasoning on the point.¹

While these disputes were going on, Finan himself was removed. His death took place in the year 661, after an episcopate of ten years.²

The successor of Finan in the see of Lindisfarne was Colman, sent, like his predecessors, from Iona. Soon after his appointment to the bishopric, the dissensions between the two parties became greater than ever. King Oswy, baptized and educated among the Scots, supported their opinions, but the opposite system had adherents in his own family. His

and Annals of Clonmacnois, note, *ibid.* p. 266, which, as is commonly the case, antedate the event.

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 25. Lanigan inclines to think that the ordinary interpretation put on the words of Bede may be incorrect. Quoting the historian's expression, "*nequaquam Finanum emendare potuit; quin potius, quod esset homo ferocis animi, acerbiorum castigando, et apertum veritatis adversarium reddidit;*" he adds (vol. ii. p. 427), "It is not easy to determine whether by the man of ferocious or rough mind Bede meant Finan or Ronan. The context seems to favour an allusion to the former, but the phrase '*castigando*,' used by him to denote Ronan's mode of arguing, a mode very unbecoming towards a bishop, might incline one to think that he alluded to Ronan, who appears to have been a very noisy and sharp ('*acerrimus*') disputant. It is hard to believe that the Scoto-Irish prelates and clergy, who had sent Finan, would have fixed upon him were he a man of rough disposition, particularly after having experienced the advantage of choosing a person of a mild character." The whole import of the words, as well as the weight of authority, is against this supposition; but we may well allow, with Innes (*History*, p. 244), that Finan's ruggedness of temper was abundantly compensated by his charity and zeal.

² Bede, lib. iii. cc. 25, 26. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 269.

son, Alechfrid, was a zealous advocate of the Roman usages : and his wife, Eanfled, not only held the same views, but, with her chaplain Romanus, who had accompanied her from Kent, celebrated the Paschal solemnity at the canonical period ; so that it sometimes happened that, while the king was keeping his Easter feast, the queen was still observing Lent on Palm Sunday.¹

The calculation of Easter, though the chief, was not the only, subject of dispute. A difference had also arisen in regard to the form of the ecclesiastical tonsure, as to which it will be proper to make a few remarks. It is generally supposed that the clerical tonsure was introduced in the course of the fifth century. From the time of Pope Gregory the Great, the practice of the Roman Church, afterwards adopted throughout western Christendom, was to shave the crown of the head and leave the hair growing round it in a circle ; while it was the usage of the British and Irish Churches to shave the forepart of the head in a semi-circular form. It was the prevalent belief in the Roman Church that the circular tonsure had been introduced by St. Peter, in imitation of our Saviour's crown of thorns ; and the zealous adherents of that rule branded the other form as the tonsure of Simon Magus, asserting that it had first been used by him. In this, as in other points of discipline, the Scottish clergy were content to defend themselves by appealing to the tradition of their fathers.²

The state of matters in the Northumbrian Church had now become such that it was necessary that some decision should be pronounced in regard to the contested points. It was therefore agreed by all that a council should be held for the determination of these questions. The synod accordingly met in Hilda's

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 25 ; lib. iv. c. 4. Eanfled was the daughter of Edwin and Ethelburga, who in infancy had been given to St. Paulinus to be baptized. After her father's death she was educated in Kent, where her mother had found refuge. See Bede, lib. ii. cc. 9, 20 ; lib. iii. c. 15.

² In regard to the question of the tonsure, as debated between the adherents of the Roman and of the Scottish usages, see the letter of Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, to Nectan, King of the Picts (Bede, lib. v. c. 21) ; Usher (Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works, vol. vi. p. 487-491) ; Innes (History, p. 242-244) ; and Lanigan (vol. iii. p. 68-72). See also, as to the tonsure generally, Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, vol. iii. p. lxxxiv.-xc., and the ample references to the best authorities there given.

monastery of Whitby, in the year of our Lord 664. It was attended by Oswy and his son Alchfrid, and by the leaders of the two parties into which the Church was divided. Bishop Colman and his Scottish clergy were there; Cedd, the Bishop of the East Saxons, who also acted as interpreter, and the Abbess Hilda, were present on the same side. Of the opposite party there were Agilbert, a Gaul by birth, but Bishop at that time of the West Saxons, who was then on a visit to Northumbria, and a priest, whom he had brought with him, named Agatho. The queen's chaplain, Romanus, was likewise there, and James, formerly deacon to St. Paulinus, who had remained at York when the archbishop fled, strengthening the flock during persecution, and when peace was restored teaching the ecclesiastical music as it was used in Italy and Kent. But by far the most able partizan of Rome was the famous Wilfrid, whose name from this time occurs so frequently in the history of the Church, and who, more than any other individual, contributed to destroy the influence of the Scottish clergy in England. A short account of his previous life may here be given.

Wilfrid was the son of a Bernician nobleman, and was born in the year 634. When about fourteen years of age he was moved to forsake the secular life, and with his father's permission betook himself to the monastery of Lindisfarne. After a residence of some years, during which he conformed to the monastic discipline established by St. Aidan, he proposed to visit Rome, in order to study the ecclesiastical rites as practised there. The brethren of the monastery encouraged him in his design, and Queen Eanfled, by whom he was greatly favoured, giving her assistance, he first repaired to her cousin, King Earconbert, in Kent. While he remained in that country with the Archbishop Honorius, another young English noble arrived at Canterbury, on the same errand with himself. This was Benedict Biscop, afterwards the first Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, whose influence on the English Church, though in a different way, was almost as great as Wilfrid's own. They went together on their journey as far as Lyons, where Wilfrid remained for some time with the bishop, Dalfinus, while Biscop proceeded direct to Rome. Wilfrid soon followed his companion. At

Rome he gained the friendship of the archdeacon, Boniface, by whom he was instructed in the true calculation of Easter, and in other ecclesiastical rites which he would have had no means of learning at home. On his return he again resided for some time with Dalfinus, and from him received the tonsure. When he arrived in England, he became very intimate with Alchfrid, son of Oswy, who gave him land to build a monastery at Stamford. Some time before this, the monastery of Ripon had been erected on land granted to the abbot, Eata, by Alchfrid. Eata came thither with several of his monks, among whom was Cuthbert, and the monastery was established in all respects on the model of the parent house of Melrose. The Paschal controversy having now become more vehement, Alchfrid gave the monks of Ripon the choice of remaining there, conforming to the Roman usage, or of retiring from the monastery. Eata choose rather to retire than to give up the Scottish tradition, and with Cuthbert and his other monks returned to Melrose. Alchfrid immediately put Wilfrid in possession of the monastery. This took place about the year 661. Some time before the Council of Whitby, Wilfrid was ordained priest by Agilbert, Bishop of the West Saxons. Such was the person, who, with learning and ability united to the ardour of youth, and inspired with all the zeal of a proselyte, was now to bear the chief part against the Bishop and clergy of Lindisfarne.¹

The proceedings of the council commenced with an address by King Oswy. He remarked that, as they all served one God, so they ought all to observe one and the same rule of life; and as they looked for one kingdom in heaven, so they should not differ in the celebration of the heavenly sacraments: that the proper subject of enquiry was, what was the true tradition, and this being ascertained it should be obeyed by all. He then desired Colman to explain what the Paschal rule was which he followed, and whence he derived it.

The bishop said: "This Easter, which I keep, I received from my elders who sent me hither; and all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated it in the same

¹ Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 19; Vita Cuthberti, cc. vii. viii. Eddius, Vita Wilfridi, c. ii.-ix.

way. And that it may not seem contemptible or hateful to any, it is that which, we read, was celebrated by the blessed Evangelist John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, and all the Churches over which he presided." The king next requested Agilbert to state the manner of his observance; whence it had its beginning, and on what authority he kept it. Agilbert answered: "May it please you that Wilfrid the priest speak in my stead; for we are both of the same mind with the others here present, and follow the ecclesiastical tradition; and he can better explain our opinion in the English tongue than I can by an interpreter."

Then Wilfrid, at the king's command, thus spoke: "The Easter which we hold we saw celebrated by all at Rome, where the blessed apostles Peter and Paul lived, and taught, and suffered, and were buried: this we saw kept by every one in Italy and Gaul, which we traversed for the sake of learning or religion: this we found was observed at one and the same time in Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, and throughout the whole world, among all nations and languages, wherever the Church of Christ is spread; except these only, and their accomplices in obstinacy, the Picts and the Britons, with the aid of whom, inhabiting two islands in the extremity of the ocean, and not even all of them, they with foolish labour fight against the world."

Colman answered: "It is strange you call that our labour foolish, wherein we imitate the example of so great an apostle, who was thought worthy to lean on the Lord's bosom, when all the world knows he lived most wisely." "Far be it from us," said Wilfrid, "to charge John with folly: for he literally obeyed the precepts of the law of Moses, while the Church as yet followed the Jewish tradition in many things, and the apostles could not at once annul the observance of the law which God Himself had ordained." After some further remarks on this point, and having explained that St. John began the feast according to the law, on the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, but that the rule adopted by St. Peter at Rome was different, he thus addressed Colman: "Hence it is plain that you neither follow the example of John, as you suppose, nor that of Peter, whose tradition you knowingly contradict. You agree neither with

the Law nor with the Gospel in the observance of your Easter. For John, keeping the Paschal time according to the law of Moses, paid no regard to the first day of the week; in which you do not follow him, as you keep the feast on the first day of the week alone.

Colman then alleged the authority of Anatolius, who laid it down that Easter was to be observed from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the first moon, and added: "Is it to be thought that our most reverend father, Columba, and his successors, men beloved of God, who kept Easter after this manner, either believed or acted contrary to the Holy Scriptures; when there were many among them to whose sanctity signs from heaven, and the miracles which they performed, gave witness; whose life, and manners, and conversation, I, doubting them not to be saints, do not cease to follow." Wilfrid denied the justice of Colman's appeal to Anatolius, as his cycle was different from that of the Scots, and then proceeded, "As to your father, Columba, and his followers, whose sanctity you profess to imitate, and whose rule and precepts, confirmed by signs from heaven, you follow, I might reply that many will say to the Lord, on the day of judgment, that they prophesied in his name, and cast out devils, and did many marvellous works, and that the Lord will answer that He never knew them. But far be it from me that I should say this of your fathers, because it is better to believe what is good than what is evil of those we do not know. Therefore I deny not that they were servants of God, and beloved of Him, who, in ignorant simplicity, yet with pious intent, loved Him. Nor do I think that such observance of Easter would harm them much, so long as no one shewed them a more perfect rule to follow. And I believe if any one had shewn to them the true way, they would have listened to his admonitions, even as it is certain that they obeyed those commandments which they had learned and known. But you and your companions sin beyond doubt, if, having heard the decrees of the apostolic see, nay of the Universal Church, and these confirmed by Holy Writ, you refuse to follow them. For though your fathers were saints, is their scanty number, from one corner of a remote island, to be preferred to the Catholic Church of Christ throughout the world? And if that Columba of yours—and

ours also, if he was Christ's servant—was holy, and powerful in miracles, could he be preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven?'" Here the king said, "Is it true, Colman? Did the Lord thus speak to Peter?" He answered, "It is true, O king." "Can you shew," continued Oswy, "that such power was given to your Columba?" "I cannot;" replied Colman. "Then," said the king, "do you both agree in this, that these words were chiefly spoken to Peter, and that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to him?" They answered, "We do agree." "Then," concluded the king, "I also say to you, that this is the porter whom I may not gainsay; but so far as I know, or am able, I wish to obey his decrees in all things; lest when I come to heaven's doors there be none to open them, he who keeps the key being against me."

When the king had thus spoken, the synod, with the approbation of the other parties who were present, gave its decision in favour of the Roman usage.¹

It is probable that the judgment of the synod on the subject of Easter, which necessarily implied a similar decision as to the tonsure, rendered it unnecessary to discuss the latter question.² When the proceedings were over, Colman resigned his see, and returned to his own land, in order to consult with his countrymen what was now to be done. He was accompanied by those who were unwilling to accept the Roman computation of Easter, among whom were all the Scottish monks in Lindisfarne, and about thirty of the English. He

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 25. Eddius, Vita Wilfridi, c. x.

² "It had been intended to treat in this conference concerning also the mighty question relative to the clerical and monastic tonsure; but the king's declaration, which implied that he would follow the Roman practices in all points, prevented the necessity of discussing it. Yet there existed great disputes about it; and Wilfrid's party looked upon it as a matter of primary importance. The Romans themselves thought little about it; and I do not find that in any of the admonitions from Rome, or of the complaints of the missionaries, the tonsure is at all mentioned. But their ultra-orthodox English converts made vast noise about it, thinking that nothing was good or could be tolerated, except what was practised at Rome." Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 63.

also took with him a portion of the relics of St. Aidan; the rest he left in the sacristy at Lindisfarne.¹

Colman came to Iona, and it is probable that the elders of the Scots met in council with the abbot, Cuminius, to consider what they were called upon to do. It is certain that no attempt was made to recover the rule and the influence which they had lost in Northumbria; and we may suppose that they resolved to acquiesce in what they were unable to prevent. This is the more likely, as they had never attempted to force the usages on others which they held binding on themselves, and we know that their good understanding with Oswy personally, and their ecclesiastical communion with the English Church, were not interrupted.

Colman's successor in the Northumbrian diocese was Tuda, who had come over from Ireland previous to the Council of Whitby. He had been educated and ordained a bishop among the Southern Scots, and so was already an observer of the Roman Easter and tonsure. Cedd relinquished the usages of the Scots, and returned to his own diocese. We may also infer, from the tenor of Bede's narrative, that Hilda with her monks and nuns at Whitby, and the convent of Melrose, conformed to the Roman rule. On the return of Eata to his monastery on the Tweed, after his departure from Ripon, he had resumed his rule as Abbot of Melrose, which it is supposed Boisil the prior had discharged during his absence. It is probable that the death of Boisil took place soon after,² although some writers have placed it about the time of the Council of Whitby. The circumstances of his decease are described by Bede. He spent the last seven days of his life in reading along with Cuthbert the Gospel of St. John. He was succeeded, as prior, by Cuthbert, who continued to hold that office at the date of the Council of Whitby. Eata was then appointed Abbot of Lindisfarne, in compliance with a parting request made by Colman to King

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 26; lib. iv. c. 4.

² This seems to follow from what Bede mentions (*Vita Cuthberti*, c. ix). He there tells us that Cuthbert discharged the office of Prior at Melrose for several years subsequently to the death of Boisil. But, as Cuthbert became Prior of Lindisfarne, when Eata was appointed Abbot of that monastery, soon after the Council of Whitby, he could not have been for some years Prior of Melrose, if Boisil had died about 664.

Oswy. He was accompanied to Lindisfarne by Cuthbert, who there also held the office of Prior.¹

Such was the end of the Scottish supremacy in England. Aidan and his successors left a name behind them which was not soon forgotten. Those who most differed from them knew how much Northumbria lost by being deprived of their services, and it is pleasing to reflect that from the ranks of their opponents came the chronicler of their actions and their virtues. It is thus Bede concludes his account of them: "How frugal and self-denying Colman and his predecessors were, the very place which they governed testified: for few buildings were there, when he departed, except the church; none, indeed, except those which were necessary for the very purposes of society. They had no wealth but their cattle. If they got any money from rich persons, they immediately gave it to the poor. They needed not to gather money, or to build houses in order to receive the great men of this world; for such never came to the church except to pray, and to hear the word of God. The king himself, when occasion required, came only with five or six attendants, and went away as soon as his devotions were over; and if they took some refreshment, it was the simple and daily fare of the brethren; they looked for nothing else. For the only anxiety of these teachers was to serve God, not the world; their only care to satisfy the soul, not the appetite. And so at that time the religious habit was held in great reverence, insomuch that wherever a clergyman or monk appeared, he was joyfully welcomed by all, as the servant of God. If they chanced to meet him while he was on a journey, they would run towards him, and bowing the head joyfully receive the holy sign from his hand, and a blessing from his lips, and diligently listen to his exhortations. On Sundays they flocked eagerly to church, or to the monasteries, not to refresh their bodies, but to hear the word of God; and if a priest arrived in any of their villages, the inhabitants, assembling together immediately, asked him for the word of life. For the priests and clergy had no other object in going to the villages than to preach,

Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 26*; *lib. iv. c. 27*; *Vita Cuthberti, cc. viii.. xvi.* The name of Boisil is still preserved in the church of St. Boswell's, in the vicinity of Melrose.

baptize, visit the sick, and in all respects to exercise the cure of souls. And so entirely were they free from all taint of covetousness, that none of them would receive lands or possessions for the erection of monasteries, unless compelled to do so by the great and powerful."¹

At the Council of Whitby, both parties supported their cause by erroneous arguments. Colman was mistaken in fancying that St. John the Evangelist, or the practice of the early Asiatic Churches, was favourable to the Scottish usage. His opponents erred much more seriously in treating the Scots as severely as if they had been Quarto-decimans, who opposed the Nicene decrees, and in urging upon them the customs of Rome as something essential to their Catholicity. The circumstance which directly led to the decision of the council deserves to be noticed. That decision was pronounced, as it seems, in consequence of the speech of Oswy; and his opinion was apparently the sudden result of what was stated in regard to the power of St. Peter and St. Columba. In calling Oswy's speech a "kingly jest," Archdeacon Churton seems to be borne out by a remark of Wilfrid's biographer, Eddius, in his account of the conference. The archdeacon's conjecture also is a very probable one, "that the influence of Queen Eanfled had before persuaded Oswy to take the part he did."² Perhaps we may even go farther, and believe that the Bretwalda had discovered how much more in accordance with mere views of policy it was to support the Roman rather than the Scottish usages. The Celtic system was not favourable to unity, either civil or ecclesiastical. Had Colman remained at Lindisfarne, Oswy could hardly have taken those steps which resulted in the subjection of the English Church to a single metropolitan, in the person of Archbishop Theodore. This would explain his after proceedings; for it is evident that personally he retained his old affectionate feeling for Colman and the Scots, and that he had no particular liking for

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 26. The labours of St. Cuthbert, when Prior of Melrose, illustrate this description; see Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 27; Vita Cuthberti, c. ix. There can be little doubt that Bede, in these passages, was indirectly drawing attention to the very different state of the Northumbrian Church in his own day. Compare his letter to Archbishop Egbert.

² Churton's Early English Church, new ed. p. 70. Compare Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, c. x.

Wilfrid. But whatever was the ruling motive with Oswy, the sudden assent of the council to his views is somewhat surprising. His influence was no doubt used against those who were least able and least disposed to resist. The Scots did not look on their own practice as a matter of faith or essential discipline, and even among themselves the persuasion was daily gaining ground that the Roman usages were right. The conversion of individuals was preparing the way for the national conformity which half a century afterwards was to follow. It is very doubtful whether the opinion of the king would have met with so ready an acquiescence had it been on the other side.

The decision of the council was very influential in establishing the power of the Roman see in England, by subduing the only rival which was capable of acting against it. It is needless to speculate on what might have been the consequences to the British Church, and to Christendom generally, had the authority claimed for Rome been successfully resisted in the extreme West, as it was in the East.

What remains to be said of the personal history of St. Colman may here be mentioned. After remaining for some time at Iona, he went to Ireland, and fixed his residence in the small island of Innisboffin, on the coast of Connaught, where he erected a monastery for his Scottish and English followers. In this remote place, a dispute, originating in the different habits of the two nations, divided his little flock. Colman found a remedy in the establishment of another monastery at Mayo, where he placed his English monks, while the others remained at Innisboffin. He died on the eighth day of August, 676, according to the Irish annals; but in the ancient Scottish calendars he is commemorated on the eighteenth of February.¹

¹ Bede, lib. iv. c. 4. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 279, 285, and *Annals of Ulster and of Clonmacnois*, note, *ibid.* p. 284.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF WHITBY IN 664, TO THE DEATH OF ST. ADAMNAN
IN 704.

Failbe, Abbot of Iona—Foundation of Applecross, by St. Malruba—St. Chad, Bishop of Lichfield—Wilfrid, Bishop of York—St. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona—Trumwine, Bishop of Abercorn—Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham—St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne—Death of Egfrid, King of Northumbria—Alfrid, King of Northumbria—Visits of Adamnan to King Alfrid—Death of Adamnan—His writings.

CUMINIUS, Abbot of Iona, died on the twenty-fourth day of February, 669, after a primacy of twelve years.¹ He has sometimes been confounded with Cumman, author of the letter to Segenius on the Paschal controversy. Independently of other sufficient arguments that they were distinct persons, what is mentioned by Lanigan, as to the improbability of the monks of Iona choosing for their abbot an avowed advocate of the Roman usages, is quite conclusive.²

The next Abbot of Iona was Failbe. The annalists record a voyage which he made to Ireland in the year 673, and his return in 676, but they do not explain what was the object of this visit.³

The same writers supply several notices of a famous Irish saint, who came over to Britain and founded a monastery there during the primacy of Failbe. Where so little is known of our early ecclesiastical establishments, any details on the

¹ Annals of Tighearnach—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 207. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 58. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 281.

² See Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 108, and also pp. 398, 399. It is singular that writers of such learning as Dr. O'Connor and Dr. O'Donovan (*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 58, and Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 279) should have fallen into the mistake of identifying the biographer of St. Columba with the author of the letter to Segenius.

³ Annals of Tighearnach—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 208, 209. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 59, 60. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. pp. 283, 285. Annals of Clonmacnois—*ibid.* note. Failbe is referred to by Adamnan (*lib. i. c. 3*) as his own immediate predecessor.

subject are interesting. It is to be regretted that the information which we have in the present case is very scanty. We are simply told that in the year 671 Malruba, Abbot of Bangor, sailed to Britain; that in 673 he founded the church of Applecross; and that he died there on the twenty-first day of April, 722, being then in the eighty-first year of his age. It is not likely that an abbot of the great house of Bangor would have left his country, and fixed his new abode on the shores of Ross, without the inducement of some high religious object. We know that the monastery which he founded in Britain continued to flourish for a considerable time, and that its abbots were distinguished, in the usual Irish manner, as the successors of the original founder. Its influence must have been great and beneficial in the wild district by which it was surrounded, but the particular circumstances can only be matter of conjecture. The few facts, however, just mentioned, are full of meaning, as illustrating what was going on at this time throughout Northern Britain.¹

The narrative of English ecclesiastical history, so far as connected with that of Scotland, may now be resumed. The year 664, in which the Council of Whitby sat, was marked by the increasing ravages of a pestilence which spread over the greater part of Britain and Ireland. Cedd, the Bishop of the East Saxons, and Tuda, St. Colman's successor, both died of this plague in the course of the year. The see of Lindisfarne was not filled up, but Wilfrid, at the request of Alchfrid, was chosen Bishop of York. Doubting, apparently, whether the bishops in Britain were validly ordained, he went over to Gaul, and received consecration at Compiègne, from

¹ The authorities for what is mentioned in the text in regard to the erection of the church of Applecross, and the death of the founder, are the *Annals of Tighernac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 207, 208, 231; the *Annals of Ulster*—*ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 58, 59, 77; the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 283, 321; and the *Annals of Clonmacnois*—*ibid.* note, p. 282. See also notes by Dr. O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 282, 320, and additional note, vol. ii. p. 1191; *Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin*, introduction by Dr. Todd, p. lviii.; and *Reeves' Down, Connor, and Droimore*, p. 378, and *Letter in the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* of July, 1849. Dr. Reeves thinks that the Four Masters are mistaken in calling Malruba Abbot of Bangor. The name of the Saint is preserved in the "Summer-eve fair" of several places in the north of Scotland, in Loch Maree, in Ross-shire, and in several churches in the West Islands and Highlands.

his friend Agilbert, who now filled the see of Paris. He remained abroad for a considerable time, and King Oswy, either impatient of this delay, or not approving of his leaving Britain at all, or, it may be, still retaining his affection for the Scottish clergy, caused Chad, the brother of Cedd, and at this time Abbot of Lastingham, to be elected to the see of York. Chad repaired to Canterbury in order to be ordained, but, learning the decease of the Archbishop Deusdedit, he went to Wini, Bishop of the West Saxons, from whom assisted by two British bishops he received consecration. Returning to Northumbria, he began the administration of his diocese, in all things following the model of his brother Cedd, and of Aidan, whose disciple he had been.¹

Wilfrid, in the meantime, had arrived in Britain, but finding the Northumbrian see occupied, he retired to his monastery of Ripon, and afterwards visited several parts of Mercia and Kent. Oswy, the Bretwalda, and Egbert, King of Kent, had endeavoured to procure a successor to the Archbishop Deusdedit. Their effort, after some delay, was successfully accomplished in the consecration of Theodore of Tarsus by Pope Vitalian. The new primate landed in Kent in the summer of 669. In the beginning of his episcopate, he made a visitation throughout his province, accompanied by the abbot Adrian, establishing the Roman usages, and rectifying whatever he found amiss. Among other matters he enquired into the right of Chad to the see of York, being apparently doubtful of it in consequence of Wilfrid's previous election; and being also dissatisfied with the manner of his ordination. When the archbishop stated his objections to Chad, the latter replied: "If you know that I have not received my office rightly, I willingly give it up; for I never thought myself worthy of it, and only undertook it, unworthy as I was, in obedience to the call which I received." The archbishop, moved by the humility of his answer, told him that he ought not to give up his function, and himself supplied whatever he considered to be wanting in his ordination. Chad, accordingly, retaining his episcopal character, but giving up his see, went back to his monastery of Lastingham, while Wilfrid undertook the government of

York. That diocese comprehended the whole dominions of King Oswy, both his own Northumbrian kingdom, and a portion of the Pictish territory which he had subjected to his rule.¹

Chad was soon recalled to the active duties of his order. On the death of Jaruman, the successor of Trumhere, Wulfhere, King of Mercia, desired Theodore to provide him with a bishop. At the archbishop's request, Chad accepted of the office, and fixed his see at Lichfield, ruling at once the proper Mercian diocese, and that of Lindsey. It was his custom, as it had been that of his master, Aidan, to travel through his diocese on foot. Theodore enjoined him when he had a long journey before him to use a horse; and when he found that the humble Chad was unwilling to do so, he himself lifted him on horseback. Perhaps the archbishop wished to testify by some public act his respect for the prelate whom he had formerly threatened with deposition. The virtues and piety of Chad are recorded by Bede. He died on the second of March, 672, and was buried at Lichfield. Winfrid, his deacon, succeeded him as Bishop of the provinces of Mercia, the Middle Angles, and Lindsey.²

In the year 670, the Bretwalda, Oswy, died. He was the last, properly speaking, who held that high dignity. Alchfrid having died before him, he was succeeded in his Northumbrian kingdom by his younger son Egfrid. Soon after the accession of Egfrid, the Picts attempted to recover that part of their country which had been wrested from them by King Oswy, but the effort was unsuccessful. Their army was defeated, and it is probable that the dominion of the English was in consequence extended still farther northwards. Egfrid was equally fortunate in a contest with Wulfhere, King of Mercia, which ended in his acquiring Lindsey from that prince, and annexing it to his kingdom.

While the young King of Northumbria was thus extending his dominions by conquest, Wilfrid was improving the condition of his diocese, and beautifying whatever was set apart for the service of God. He brought Eddius from Kent to teach ecclesiastical music to his people. He restored the minster at

¹ Bede, lib. iv. cc. 2, 3. Eddius, Vita Wilfridi, c. xv.

² Bede, lib. iv. c. 3.

York, and built new churches at Ripon and Hexham, in a style of architecture far superior to anything which had yet been seen in England. The monastery at Wearmouth was at the same time erected by workmen brought from Gaul by his friend Benedict Biscop.

These fair beginnings, which promised an increase to the prosperity that the Northumbrian Church and kingdom had for many years enjoyed, were now to be overcast. Wilfrid, in his active and ambitious character, was so far not unlike his sovereign, and dissension arose between them. The quarrel appears to have begun in connection with Egfrid's queen, Etheldreda, daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles. She had been married to Egfrid during the reign of his father Oswy, although her inclinations were always towards a monastic life. Notwithstanding her husband's entreaties, she persisted in her resolution to withdraw to a monastery, and he at last granted a reluctant consent. In this there is every reason to believe that she was encouraged by Wilfrid, who with his own hands gave her the veil. The monastery she entered was that of Coldingham, of which Ebba, the sister of King Oswy, was then abbess.¹

Wilfrid's proceedings in this matter naturally excited deep indignation in the king. His second queen, Ermenburga, is said to have used all her influence to widen the breach. Egfrid had other causes of complaint against him, and, with the concurrence of Archbishop Theodore, he was deprived of his bishopric. He retired for some time from England, and his diocese was divided, Bosa being appointed to the see of York, and Eata, the disciple of St. Aidan, to that of Hexham and Lindisfarne. They were consecrated at York by Archbishop Theodore, in the year 678, along with Eadhed, recently appointed first Bishop of Lindsey, which, being now under the rule of Egfrid, was separated ecclesiastically from the diocese of the Mercians and Middle Angles.²

Failbe, Abbot of Iona, died on the twenty-second day of March, 679. His successor was the famous Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba. Adamnan was born probably in the year 628; and before his election as Superior of the Co-

¹ Bede, lib. iv. c. 19. Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, cc. xvi. xvii. xxii.

² Bede, lib. iv. c. 12. Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. xxiii.

lumbite order is supposed to have been Abbot of a monastery at Raphoe.¹

On the seventeenth day of November, 680, died Hilda, Abbess of Whitby, the scholar of Aidan, and the faithful supporter of the Scottish usages till they were condemned by the synod that sat in her own monastery. Under her government, Whitby was a school in which many learned and religious persons were brought up for the ecclesiastical state; no fewer than five bishops having been taken from it, among whom were Bosa, the younger Wilfrid, and St. John of Beverley.²

In the year after Hilda's decease, three other sees were added to the Northumbrian Church. Lindisfarne and Hexham were separated, Eata retaining the former, and Tumbert being consecrated Bishop of the latter. Lindsey having been recovered for Mercia by King Ethelred, the bishop, Eadhed, was set over the Church of Ripon. The third see was established in the Pictish territory subject to Northumbria. It is impossible to ascertain the extent of this diocese; and there are difficulties even in connection with the situation, it having been made a question whether it lay to the north or south of the friths. As the kingdom of Bernicia and the bishopric of Lindisfarne had previously extended as far as the Forth, it is the more probable opinion that the conquered territory, now formed into a separate diocese, lay farther northwards. The new bishop was Trumwine, who fixed his see at the monastery of Abercorn, on the Forth.³

Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, died, as is supposed, on the twenty-fifth day of August, 683. She had enjoyed the friendship of Cuthbert,⁴ and was renowned for her piety and virtue.

¹ *Annals of Tighernac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 210. *Annals of Ulster*—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 61. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 285. *Lanigan*, vol. iii. p. 97. The *Annals of Tighernac* (*ibid.* p. 187), and the *Annals of Ulster* (*ibid.* p. 41), taking into account the usual variation, both give the year 624 as that of Adamnan's birth; but this is inconsistent with what they mention as to his age at the time of his death; and the latter seems the more trustworthy notice.

² *Bede*, lib. iv. c. 23. Hilda's monastery was also the residence of the poet Cædmon, whose well-known story is related by *Bede*, in the chapter immediately following that cited above.

³ *Bede*, lib. iv. cc. 12, 26.

⁴ *Bede*, *Vita Cuthberti*, c. x.

But towards the close of her life there was a great relaxation of discipline in the monastery, although the abbess herself was at first ignorant of the change. Coldingham, like Whitby, was a community of monks and nuns, living under the government of an abbess. The abuses which had begun were made known to Ebba by one of her monks, a Scot, named Adamnan. They were in consequence checked for a time, but a few years after the death of the abbess became worse than at first. The monastery itself was burned, and this was looked upon as a just judgment on the wickedness of its inmates.¹

In 684, another change took place in the Northumbrian dioceses. Tunbert, Bishop of Hexham, was deposed for some offence which is not recorded, and Cuthbert was elected in his room, at a synod held at Twyford on the Alne, under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore, and at which King Egfrid was present. Several learned Irish writers have attempted to prove that Cuthbert was a native of Ireland, but there can hardly be a doubt that he was of English descent, and born in that part of the Northumbrian kingdom which lay within the limits of modern Scotland. At the time of his election to be bishop he had resigned his office of Prior of Lindisfarne, and had retired to the neighbouring island of Farne, in order to lead the solitary life of an anchorite. He refused to leave his retreat and undertake the government of a diocese. The Northumbrian king, with Bishop Trumwine and others, crossed over to his island, and with great difficulty induced him to comply. He then expressed a wish that he should be set over his own Church of Lindisfarne, rather than Hexham. To this Eata at once consented, and again assumed the rule of Hexham, while St. Cuthbert became Bishop of Lindisfarne. Cuthbert's consecration was delayed till Easter in the following year, when it took place at York, in presence of King Egfrid; the Archbishop Theodore and six other bishops uniting in the solemnity.²

¹ See the account of these events, and of the penance and vision of Adamnan, in Bede, lib. iv. c. 25. This Scottish monk has sometimes been ignorantly confounded with the Abbot of Iona.

² Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 28; Vita Cuthberti, c. xxiv. Farne had been an occasional retreat of St. Aidan for the purposes of devotion; see Bede, lib. iii. c. 16.

The year 685 is remarkable also for the defeat of King Egfrid. The fierce, overbearing character of this prince, which is sufficiently obvious in the whole narrative of his reign, led at last to his own death, and to the fall of Northumbria from the high rank which it had held so long among the Saxon kingdoms. During the previous year he had sent an army to invade Ireland, and part of the eastern coast was miserably pillaged by his soldiers, who spared neither churches nor monasteries. The Irish had been uniformly kind and hospitable to the English, and had assisted in bringing them to a knowledge of the Christian religion. The English priest, Egbert, of whom there will afterwards be occasion to speak, in vain warned the Northumbrian king against this outrage, and the events which followed were viewed as a just judgment upon him for his cruelty and sacrilege.¹

Within a few weeks after St. Cuthbert's consecration, Egfrid himself led an army into the Pictish territory. His friends, and especially the Bishop of Lindisfarne, endeavoured to dissuade him from his enterprize, but he refused to listen to their counsels. Brude, the son of Bili, was at this time King of the Picts. He retreated before the Northumbrians, and induced Egfrid to follow him across the Tay. The two armies met at Nechtanesmere, which has been supposed to be Dunnichen in Angus. The English sustained an utter defeat, and Egfrid himself was slain. The battle was fought on the twentieth of May, 685.²

The consequences of this great conflict were very important. The English power was much broken, and never recovered its former strength. Not only did the victorious Picts again acquire the territory which they had lost; the Scots also, and the Cumbrian Britons, were enabled to recover their independence. The supremacy which had been exercised by the Bretwaldas and Egfrid came to an end, and the dominion of the Northumbrian sovereigns was confined within the proper

¹ On the subject of the invasion of Ireland by Egfrid, see Bede, lib. iv. c. 26; *Annals of Tighearnac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 213; *Annals of Ulster*—*ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 62, 63; and *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 289, 290.

² Bede, lib. iv. c. 26. *Annals of Tighearnac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 213. *Annals of Ulster*—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 63. In regard to the place where the battle was fought, see Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 255, and Dr. Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 186, 187.

limits of their own kingdom. Even a part of the Bernician province appears for a time to have been seized by the Picts, since we find that Trumwine and his monks were obliged to flee from Abercorn. The Bishop of the Picts recommended his followers to the protection of various monasteries, while he himself retired to Whitby, at that time under the rule of Ellfeda, the daughter of Oswy, and her mother, Eanfled. There he lived the rest of his days, and there he was buried with the honour due to his virtues and his rank.¹

¹ Bede, lib. iv. c. 26. There are several difficulties connected with the brief narrative here given by Bede. The meaning of the passage, "*nam et Picti terram possessionis suæ quam tenuerunt Angli, et Scoti qui erant in Britannia, Britonum quoque pars nonnulla, libertatem receperunt, quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta sex,*" is not very clear. Did the Picts recover their territory both from the English and the Scots; or did the Scots, as well as the Britons, recover their independence? The meaning which I have given is opposed to the punctuation in the editions of Smith, Petrie, Stevenson, and Hussey; to the translations of Giles, and of Ritson (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 214); and to the commentary of Palgrave (*English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 469, and vol. ii. p. cccxi). It is supported, however, by Innes (*History*, p. 276), Pinkerton (*Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 330), Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 256), Turner (*History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 373), and Lingard (*History of England*, 4to ed. vol. i. p. 115). The grammatical construction of the words is rather unfavourable to the meaning which I have assigned; but that meaning is more in accordance with the known facts of history. It is easy to understand why the victory of the Picts contributed to restore independence to the Scots and Britons, but it is difficult to see what effect it would naturally have in acquiring for the Picts any part of their kingdom which was occupied by the Scots: and if they did so, that circumstance of itself was no diminution of the English power. It may farther be enquired what the actual loss of territory was which the English sustained. Did the Picts merely recover their own country north of the friths, or did they take possession of Lothian, or even of all Bernicia as far as the Tweed? This point is connected with the extent of Bishop Trumwine's diocese. As it is the more probable opinion that his diocese lay to the north of the Forth, we may also infer that this was the extent of the permanent conquests made by the Picts after the death of Egfrid. They may have occupied part of Lothian for a time, and so rendered Trumwine's monastery at Abercorn an unsafe residence; but there is no proof that they continued to retain possession of that province. We know that it afterwards belonged to the Saxons, and the language of Bede, in the very chapter where the flight of Trumwine is mentioned, implies that at the time when he wrote the Forth was the northern boundary of his countrymen. In that passage also, the "*terra Pictorum*" from which the English were obliged to flee is contrasted with the "*regio Anglorum*" in which Abercorn was situated. It may therefore be held that those Scottish writers are mistaken who would fain include Lothian in the Pictish territory, as now enlarged by King Brude. On the other hand, an eminent historian has been led into an error much less excusable by his strong prejudice in favour of the English supremacy, civil and

Egfrid's successor was Alfrid, an illegitimate son of Oswy. Alfrid had retired to the islands of the Scots—from jealousy or apprehension of Egfrid, as later writers assert; from love of learning, as contemporary authorities inform us—and there he had diligently occupied himself in study, especially in that of the Holy Scriptures. At a mature age he now ascended the Northumbrian throne, adorned with all the qualities which become a sovereign. His good government re-established the harassed kingdom, but it never recovered its former extent.¹

In the beginning of Alfrid's reign, Eata, Bishop of Hexham, died. He was the last survivor, so far as appears, of the

ecclesiastical, in Scotland. Sir Francis Palgrave, referring to the consequences of Egfrid's defeat, tells us (*English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 469) that "the Bishop of the Picts, appointed by the authority of the Prelate of Canterbury, retired with his monks to the monastery of Abercorn, in the 'vicinity of the frith which divides the Picts from the Angles.'" The very chapter of Bede which he quotes mentions quite distinctly that Trumwine retired, not *to*, but *from* Abercorn, and that the place of his retreat was the monastery of Whitby.

¹ See Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 26*; *Vita Cuthberti*, c. xxiv. Speaking of Alfrid, Malmesbury says (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. i. cd. Hardy, p. 79), "Is, quia nothus ut discimus erat, factione optimatum quamvis senior regno indignus æstimatus, in Hiberniam seu vi scu indignatione secesserat. Ibi et odio germani tutus, et magno otio literis imbutus, omni philosophia composuerat animum." On this authority it has been hastily assumed by English and Irish writers that Ireland was the country of Alfrid's retreat. The language of Bede would rather indicate some of the smaller islands inhabited by the Scots. Cuthbert is said to have thus addressed Elfreda, the daughter of Oswy (*Vita Cuthberti*, c. xxiv.); "'Cernis hoc mare magnum et spatiosum, quot abundat insulis? Facile est Deo de aliqua harum sibi providere quem regno præficeret Anglorum.'" Intellexit ergo quia de Aldfrido diceret, qui ferebatur filius fuisse patris illius, et tunc in insulis Scotorum ob studium literarum exsulabat." But one place, at least, where Alfrid acquired his secular and religious learning, was certainly Iona. The anonymous biographer of St. Cuthbert, who wrote while the son of Oswy was still King of Northumbria, expressly tells us (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, Auct. anon. lib. iii.—*Bedæ Opera Historica*, ed. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 274), that at the time when the conversation took place between the Saint and Elfreda, Alfrid was in Iona: "Illa jam cito rememoravit de Alfrido, qui nunc regnat pacifice, fuisse dictum, qui tunc erat in insula quam Hy nominant." Compare on this subject Innes's *History*, p. 278; and Reeves' *Adamnan*, appendix to preface, p. xlv., and pp. 185, 186, note. The remarks of Dr. Reeves on the statement of Innes are made with less than his usual accuracy. The residence of Alfrid at Iona serves to throw light on the intimacy which existed between him and the Abbot Adamnan. Another mistake, though not so general, has prevailed in regard to Alfrid—the confounding him with Alchfrid, the lawful son of Oswy, the scholar and friend of Wilfrid, who died before his father.

immediate disciples of St. Aidan, and was succeeded by John of Beverley, from whom Venerable Bede received his ordination, both as deacon and priest. On the death of Bosa, Bishop of York, in the following year, John was translated to that see, and Wilfrid, returning from his banishment, was appointed Bishop of Hexham.¹

The life of Wilfrid forms no proper part of this work, and therefore his actions from the time when he left England in the reign of Egfrid—his labours among the heathen, his reconciliation and subsequent dispute with Alfrid, his second exile and return, and the other events of his strange and varied career, may here be passed by. One important circumstance, however, deserves to be mentioned. While Wilfrid was at Rome in 680, a synod of one hundred and twenty-five bishops assembled under Pope Agatho, to condemn the Monothelite heresy. Wilfrid, sitting in council with the other bishops, attested the Catholic faith of the country whence he came, and of the four nations—the English, Britons, Scots, and Picts—by whom it was inhabited.²

After exercising his episcopal office for two years, St. Cuthbert again retired to his seclusion in the isle of Farne, where he died on the twentieth of March, 687.³ We learn from Bede that there was a monastery near the mouth of the Tyne, which was the residence originally of monks, but afterwards of nuns under the abbess Verca, an intimate friend of Cuthbert's.⁴ It has generally been supposed that this was Tynningham, in East Lothian, but there is more reason to believe that the

¹ Bede, lib. v. cc. 2, 3, 24.

² "Quo in tempore idem papa Agatho, cum synodum congregavit Romæ centum viginti quinque episcoporum, adversus eos qui unam in Domino Salvatore voluntatem atque operationem dogmatizabant, vocari jussit et Uilfridum, atque inter episcopos consistentem, dicere fidem suam, simul et provinciæ sive insulæ, de qua venerat; cumque catholicus fide cum suis esset inventus, placuit hoc inter cætera ejusdem synodi gestis inseri, scriptumque est hoc modo: 'Uilfridus, Deo amabilis, episcopus Eboracæ civitatis, apostolicam sedem de sua causa appellans, et ab hac potestate de certis incertisque rebus absolutus, et cum aliis centum viginti quinque episcopis in synodo in judicii sede constitutus, et pro omni aquilonali parte, Britanniæ et Hiberniæ insulis, quæ ab Anglorum et Brittonum, necnon Scottorum et Pictorum gentibus incoluntur, veram et catholicam fidem confessus est, et eam subscriptione sua corroboravit.'" Bede, lib. v. c. 19.

³ Bede, lib. iv. c. 29.

⁴ See Vita Cuthberti, cc. iii. xxxv. xxxvii.

true situation of the monastery was near the mouth of the Northumbrian Tyne.

For a year after the death of St. Cuthbert, the diocese of Lindisfarne was administered by Wilfrid. Some troubles took place, the exact nature of which cannot be ascertained; but it has been conjectured that they arose from an attempt on the part of Wilfrid to establish the Benedictine rule in the monastery in place of the Columbite institutions of St. Aidan. These dissensions ceased on the appointment of Eadbert to the see in the year 688.¹ Eadbert held his bishopric for ten years, and died on the sixth of May, 698.²

The diocese of the early Bishops of Lindisfarne, as already intimated, extended northward as far as the Forth, and thus contained within its limits what was afterwards known as the archdeaconry of Lothian, and in still later times as the bishopric of Edinburgh. The chief ecclesiastical establishment, next to that in Holy Isle, was the monastery of Melrose. The succession of the abbots has not been preserved. One or more must have presided between the date of Eata's translation to Lindisfarne and the end of the century, when we find that Ethelwald, formerly a disciple of St. Cuthbert, was the superior. While he was abbot, Drythelm, who saw the famous vision recorded by Bede, became a monk at Melrose.³

The personal history of the Abbot Adamnan may now be resumed. It is probable that the accession of Alfrid to the throne of Northumbria was soon followed by the establishment of peace between the Picts and the English, the latter permanently surrendering their conquests beyond the Forth. When the friendly relations of the two countries were thus restored, the Irish were also desirous of partaking in the blessings of renewed intercourse, and of obtaining freedom for the captives who had been carried away from their island in the plundering expedition of King Egfrid. For this purpose

¹ Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, c. xl.; *Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 29*. The Bollandists support the conjecture alluded to in the text; Mabillon is inclined to discredit it; see *Innes's History*, p. 284, and note by Mr. Stevenson, in his edition of *Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert*, p. 126.

² Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 30*; *Vita Cuthberti*, c. xliii.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 12*; *Vita Cuthberti*, c. xxx.

they applied to Adamnan, who had no doubt been personally intimate with the new sovereign during his sojourn at Iona. The abbot accordingly went to Northumbria in 686. Alfrid, grateful for the shelter and kindness which he had received among the Scots, and probably knowing the injustice of Egfrid's war in Ireland, granted his request, and restored the captives. Two years afterwards Adamnan again visited the Northumbrian king. The object of this second journey is not known.¹

In the year 692, the Abbot of Iona went to Ireland on a visitation, as is supposed, of the Columbite monasteries in that country. He made another voyage thither in 697, and on this occasion the annalists seem to allude to some laws or canons which were enacted by his influence.²

Adamnan made yet another visit to Northumbria, in the first or second year of the eighth century. He came on an embassy to King Alfrid, from his own nation, but with what particular object we are not told. During his residence in England, which continued for some time, he became satisfied that the Scottish usages in regard to Easter and other points were incorrect, and he accordingly conformed to the Roman rule. The abbot Ceolfrid and the monks of Jarrow appear to have assisted in bringing about his conversion. During this visit Adamnan presented to King Alfrid a copy of his book on the Holy Places.³

The adoption of the Roman rule by the Abbot of Iona tended to hasten the extinction of the Scottish usages more than any event which had taken place since the Council of Whitby. From an opponent he had become a zealous supporter of that rule, and he used all his efforts to procure its establishment as far as his authority and influence extended.

¹ Adamnan, lib. ii. cc. 46, 47. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 293. *Annals of Ulster*, and *Annals of Clonmacnois*, note, *ibid.* p. 292. Adamnan speaks of Alfrid as his friend, "*in Saxonia regem Aldfridum visitantes amicum*," in a manner which would naturally imply that their friendship had commenced previously.

² *Annals of Tighernac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 216, 219. *Annals of Ulster*—*ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 65, 66. Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.*—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 609. See also Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 136, 139, 140; note by Dr. O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 304; and Adamnan's own reference to the "*Hiberniensis synodi conductum*," in his *Life of Columba*, lib. ii. c. 46.

³ Bede, lib. v. cc. 15, 21.

He began with his own monks at Iona, and those subject to the jurisdiction of that monastery in Britain. The traditions of their fathers on this point were still, however, venerated, and all the persuasions of their primate failed in bringing about a change of opinion or practice. He then sailed to Ireland, and there his endeavours were more successful. Almost all the Northern Irish, except those immediately subject to Iona, were brought to conformity with the Roman rule.¹

In the year 704, Adamnan, who was still in Ireland, celebrated the feast of Easter after the manner of the Western Church. He then returned to his chief monastery, but was again unsuccessful in attempting to convert it. He was spared the pain of passing the holy season in discord with his monks, being taken from this world on the twenty-third day of September following, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his primacy.²

Adamnan was the most illustrious of the successors of St. Columba. Ceolfred styles him "the famous abbot and priest of the Columbites," and speaks of his "wonderful prudence, humility, and piety, in word and deed." He is called by Bede, "a good man and a wise, and excellently versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures." The Annals of Innisfallen speak of him as "Adamnan the Wise," the same epithet by which his friend King Alfrid has been distinguished by others. Alcuin classes him with the most eminent of his nation, Patrick, Kieran, Columbanus, and Comgall.³

The name of Adamnan is distinguished in the early literary annals of our country. Besides the Life of St. Columba, he

¹ Bede, lib. v. cc. 15, 21.

² Annals of Tighernac—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 221, 222. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 69. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 305.

³ Bede, lib. v. cc. 15, 21. *Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii.—*Annal. Inisfal.* p. 17.

"Patricius, Cheranus, Scotorum gloria gentis,

Atque Columbanus, Congallus, Adamnanus, atque

Præclari patres, morum vitæque magistri."

(Alcuin, as quoted by Lanigan, vol. i. p. 66.) The Abbots of Raphoe were known as the Comorbans or successors of Adamnan, and there can be no doubt that St. Adamnan is correctly identified with St. Eunan, usually called the first Bishop of Raphoe. See Innes's History, p. 300; Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 99, 100; King's Memoir introductory to the early history of the Primacy of Armagh, p. 59; and Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 256, 257, additional notes.

also compiled a work on the Holy Places. The history of this book is itself an interesting one. A bishop from Gaul, named Arculf, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visiting at the same time Alexandria, Constantinople, and many other of the chief cities of the East. The ship in which he returned was driven by a storm to the western coast of Britain. Arculf was hospitably received by the Abbot of Iona, who gladly listened to his account of the Holy Places, and wrote from it the narrative which has come down to us.¹

¹ Mr Wright remarks, in his introduction to an English translation of the work (*Early Travels in Palestine*, p. xiii.); "The narrative of Bishop Arculf, besides its intrinsic value as a minute and accurate description of localities and monuments at this interesting period, is of especial importance to us, because, through the abridgment made by Bede, it became the text-book on this subject among the Anglo-Saxons, and led to that passion for pilgrimages with which they were soon afterwards seized, and which was not uncongenial to the character of that people, whose adventurous steps have since been carried into every corner of the world." See to the same effect Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 209.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE DEATH OF ST. ADAMNAN IN 704, TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE
PRIMACY FROM IONA TO DUNKELD IN 849.

Succession of the Abbots of Iona—Nectan, King of the Picts—Adoption of the Roman usages at Iona—Restoration of the see of Candida Casa—Succession of the Bishops of Candida Casa—Succession of the Bishops of Lindisfarne—Hungus, King of the Picts—Ravages of the Danes—Martyrdom of Blaithe—Council of Calcuith—Indrecht, Abbot of Iona—Kenneth, son of Alpin, King of the Scots—Foundation of Dunkeld—Translation of the Primacy to Dunkeld—Monasteries of Abernethy, St. Andrews, and Lochleven.

ALFRID the Wise, King of Northumbria, died in the year 705, and the long and active life of Bishop Wilfrid came to an end in 709. The former was succeeded by his son Osred, then only eight years of age; the latter, as Bishop of Hexham, by Acca, the disciple of Bosa and the friend of Bede. Eadfrid had succeeded Eadbert as Bishop of Lindisfarne, in 698. He was probably the Eadfrid to whom Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, addressed an epistle, which is still preserved, and if so, like many other English ecclesiastics, he had studied for some years in Ireland. To him Bede dedicated his prose Life of St. Cuthbert, and by him also the anonymous writer of the Life of that saint, from whom Bede derived most of his materials, was requested to undertake the task.¹

It is very difficult to trace the succession of the abbots of Iona after the death of Adamnan. The Irish annals contain various notices which cannot well be reconciled with each other; and besides them we have no authority on the point, except the single, though important, statement of Bede, that Dunchad was abbot when the Roman usages were established at Iona. Usher makes Conain the immediate successor of

¹ Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cc. 18, 19, 20; Vita Cuthberti, præfatio. Vita S. Cuthberti, Auct. anon. prologus. Bishop Aldhelm's letter, which, from its reflections on the Irish, naturally enough excites the indignation of Lanigan (see vol. iii. p. 139), is to be found in Usher's Sylloge (Works, vol. iv. p. 448-452).

Adamnan, and after Conain places Dunchad; assigning a primacy of six years to the former, and of seven to the latter. This does not agree with the annalists. By them Dunchad is mentioned as holding the primacy in 707, and his death is recorded under the year 717. Conain, the abbot, is said to have died in 710. The decease of Dorben, Abbot of Iona, is recorded under the year 713, although he, or another of the same name, is spoken of as abbot in 715. The accession of Failchu is said to have taken place in 716, and his death in 724, the identity being marked by the addition of his father's name in both notices. Finally it is stated that Feidlimid held the primacy in 722. In addition, we have a statement of the death of Ceode, styled Bishop of Iona, in 711.¹

Ceode was probably one of those bishops, alluded to on several occasions by the annalists, who resided within the monastery, exercising the episcopal functions, but subject to the jurisdiction of the abbot. There is no such difficulty on that point, as there is in regard to the confused and apparently contradictory statements respecting the abbots. It has been conjectured that there was a disputed succession at Iona, and that the appearance of two abbots at the same time may be connected with the question of the Scottish usages, and with the expulsion of the monks by Nectan, King of the Picts, to be immediately mentioned. It is more probable that some of the persons spoken of as abbots were merely laymen, using the style of Superiors of the monastery, and in possession of its temporalities. The prevalence of such an abuse, at a later period, in various parts of Christendom, is well known. It has not been generally supposed that it existed at this time among the Picts and Scots. It need not, however, excite our surprise to find it in Northern Britain at the commencement of the eighth century, when we know, on the undoubted testimony of the Venerable Bede and St. Boniface, how far similar corruptions prevailed in the southern part of the island, not long after the period here alluded to.² We are told by the

¹ See the notices, referred to in the text, in the *Annals of Tighearnach* and of *Ulster—Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 234-240, and *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 309-319. See also Bede, lib. v. c. 22, and Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. p. 245.

² See Bede's Letter to Bishop Egbert, and that of Boniface to Archbishop Cuthbert.

Irish writers that most of the Abbots of Iona were of the same royal line from which Columba was descended.¹ The circumstance of one great family giving abbots to Iona was not unlikely to produce the same consequences which we know to have happened afterwards in a like case at Armagh; and an opportunity may have been afforded by the dissensions on the subject of Easter.

An account may now be given of the circumstances which led to the adoption of the Roman usages by the monks of Iona. In this matter also, as in the succession of the abbots, it is difficult to explain the precise character of the events mentioned in the brief records which have been preserved.

Brude, son of Bili, the conqueror of Egfrid, had died in 695, after a reign of twenty-one years, and had been succeeded by Taran. The next sovereign was Brude, son of Dereh, whose brother and successor, Nectan, ascended the throne about the year 710. Nectan had become a convert to the Roman usages in regard to Easter and the tonsure. It is probable that so remarkable an event as the renunciation of the Scottish tradition by Adamnan had excited much attention among the Picts and Scots, and that the spirit of enquiry resulting from it was not without its effect on the mind of Nectan. But making every allowance for such motives, the statement of Bede is quite distinct as to the king's personal knowledge on these points, derived from his study of ecclesiastical writings. This may fairly be adduced as a proof that in Northern Britain learning was not entirely confined to the clergy. There must also have been means among the Picts of acquiring such knowledge in their own language, since it appears from the conclusion of Bede's narrative that the Latin letter of Ceolfrid, to be immediately mentioned, required to be interpreted to the king.

Nectan, though fully persuaded in his own mind as to the matters in dispute, was yet desirous to obtain the assistance of the best scholars whom he had an opportunity of consulting, in order that he might be the more readily enabled to

¹ See Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 97, 153. "It is remarkable that for more than two centuries from the foundation of Hy, almost all its abbots were descended from Conall Gulbanus, thus connected more or less by relationship with Columkill, and belonging to the line of the northern Nialls." Ibid. p. 99.

bring his subjects to the same opinion. It was needless, of course, to apply to the Abbot and monks of Iona, who still maintained the Scottish usages. The monastery of Jarrow was among the most famous in Northumbria, and at this time numbered among its inmates the great light of the English nation, Venerable Bede. It is probable that the high attainments of Bede were known to the Pictish king, and that in any application of this nature to the Abbot of Jarrow his assistance was relied on. It may also be supposed that the intercourse between Adamnan and the monks of Jarrow had its influence in directing Nectan's attention to their monastery. But whatever the precise cause may have been which induced the King of the Picts to apply for aid in this quarter, he sent messengers in the beginning of his reign to the abbot Ceolfrid, desiring that a letter might be written, containing the best arguments in support of the Roman Easter, and full instructions in regard to the tonsure. The abbot complied with his request, and the answer which was sent has been preserved by Bede. It has indeed been conjectured, and with great appearance of probability, that the letter was composed at his superior's desire by the historian himself. It was addressed "To the most excellent lord and most glorious king, Nectan," and contains a learned summary of the arguments in relation to the contested usages.

A council of the clergy and nobles of the Picts was convened, in order to hear the letter of Ceolfrid. When it had been read and explained in their own tongue, the king arose, and then, kneeling on the ground, returned thanks to God that he had been thought worthy to receive such a gift from England. "I knew indeed before," he said, "that this was the true calculation of Easter; but now I see so fully the reason of it, that it seems as if hitherto I had known but little. And therefore I openly avow and protest to you who are here present, that it is my will to observe for ever this time of Easter, with my whole nation; and I decree that this tonsure, which, as we have now heard, is most reasonable, shall be received by all the clergy of my kingdom." The canonical cycle of Easter was ordered to be transcribed, learned, and observed in all the provinces of the Picts, and the old calculation was utterly abrogated.

At the same time the clergy and monks received the Roman tonsure.¹

Thus among the Picts, as in Northumbria half a century before, the Scottish usages were displaced by a summary act of royal power.

The messengers who went from Nectan to Ceolfrid had also another commission. It was the king's request that architects should be sent to him, to build in his country a church of stone, after the Roman manner, which he proposed to dedicate to the Prince of the Apostles. The church of St. Peter at Wearmouth had been erected by workmen brought from Gaul by Benedict Biscop. From that time ecclesiastical architecture had been cultivated by the inmates of the monastery, and they were now able to give that assistance to the King of the Picts which they had before required for themselves. Bede tells us that the architects were sent, but gives us no farther information on the point. We may almost hold it as certain that the church was built in the land of the Picts, though its precise situation is now only matter of conjecture.²

The decree of King Nectan in regard to Easter and the tonsure appears to have met with a ready acquiescence among his subjects.³ How this could be while the monastery of Iona, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Pictish Church, still retained the former usages, we have no means of ascertaining. The course of events had probably effected a change of opinion so far that, while unwilling as yet to conform themselves, the followers of St. Columba made no opposition to the adoption

¹ Bede, lib. v. c. 21.

² Compare Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 21, and *Historia Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Gyrviensium*, c. v. Pinkerton (*Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 296, and vol. ii. p. 267) supposes that the church may have been at Abernethy, and this, if correct, would explain the legend of an earlier foundation by Nectan, son of Irb. While alluding to this point, he refers (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 302) to the following statement of Winton, though apparently without observing its bearing on the narrative of Bede. Winton (vol. i. p. 138) ascribes to "Nectan Derly," King of the Picts, the foundation of the church of Rosemarkie, afterwards the seat of the cathedral of Ross. This tradition may contain the true explanation of what was done. Rosemarkie was not far from the residence of the Pictish sovereigns on the Ness. In that remote district the architects of Ceolfrid may have built their church, and the legendary St. Boniface of Ross may have been an Italian ecclesiastic, who came from Jarrow, at King Nectan's request, to instruct the Picts in the Roman usages and ritual.

³ Bede, lib. v. c. 21.

of the change by others. But the time was now approaching when Iona itself was to submit to the usages of Rome. An English priest accomplished what Adamnan, with all the authority of his office, and his great personal influence, had been unable to achieve.

It has been mentioned that when Egfrid of Northumbria was about to invade Ireland, the priest, Egbert, in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his wicked enterprize. Egbert was one of the many individuals of English race, who during the episcopate of Finan and Colman resorted to Ireland for the purposes of study and devotion. There he had since resided, and had been mainly instrumental in promoting the mission of Willibrord to the Frisians. In the year 716, he sailed to Iona, and received an honourable welcome from the monks, and the abbot Dunchad. They listened to his exhortations, and were persuaded to renounce the Scottish usages, and to adopt both the Easter calculation and the tonsure of the Latin Church.¹

It was hardly to be expected that the opinions and practices, so long cherished by the community of Iona, would be given up at once. There is reason to believe that notwithstanding the instructions of Egbert, and the example and authority of Nectan, a considerable number of the Columbitæ, at least of those established in the Pietish kingdom, were strongly opposed to the change. This is the natural and general interpretation which has been put on a brief and obscure notice in the Irish annals. After recording the change as to Easter in 716, and the death of Abbot Dunchad in 717, they mention, under the latter year, the banishment of the family of Iona beyond Drumalban by Nectan the king; and, under the year following, they state that the tonsure was imposed upon the community.² It is probable that the monks

¹ Bede, lib. iii. cc. 4, 27; lib. v. cc. 9, 10, 22. *Annals of Tighernac—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 228. *Annals of Ulster—ibid.* vol. iv. p. 74.

² *Annals of Tighernac—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 228, 229. *Annals of Ulster—ibid.* vol. iv. p. 74. Lanigan (vol. iii. p. 157-161), while admitting that the circumstance has not yet been sufficiently explained, disputes the connection which has generally been assumed as subsisting between the banishment of the monks and the contests in regard to Easter and the tonsure. He is so far undoubtedly right, in maintaining that the expulsion had no reference to the monks in Iona itself, who were not subject to Nectan's jurisdiction.

in the parent monastery, and in other parts of the Scottish kingdom, who adhered to their old usages, were allowed to follow them undisturbed. But Nectan was no longer tolerant of opposition to his wishes, and all the brethren within the Pictish dominions, who refused to conform, were driven from his kingdom. There is some difficulty in reconciling this with Bede's statement that the Roman usages had been adopted universally among the Picts, on the royal decree being promulgated, and it is singular that we hear of opposition only after Iona itself had conformed. Perhaps some of the adherents of the Scottish usages who yielded at first may have reverted to their old opinions; and, in the case of those within the Pictish kingdom, Nectan may have insisted on a stricter compliance with his wishes when he found himself supported by the ecclesiastical authority at Iona. The notice of the imposition of the tonsure in 718 probably refers not to the monastery itself, but to the same portion of the community who had been banished by the King of the Picts in the preceding year, and who were now obliged to conform.

Whatever the precise explanation may be, the lingering opposition of those who still clung to the practices of their forefathers soon died away. From this time we hear nothing further of these controversies, among the Picts and Scots.

The reign of King Nectan closed in discord and civil war. He appears to have been dethroned about the year 725, but afterwards to have recovered his kingdom. Peace was restored on the accession, in 730, of Hungus, son of Urgust, whose long reign was one of the most distinguished in the Pictish annals.

The next abbot of Iona, after Failchu, was Killen, surnamed Fada, or the Long, who held the office from 724 to his death in 726.¹ He was succeeded by another Killen, distinguished by the surname of Droichteach, or the Bridgemaker, whose government continued for twenty-six years.

Egbert, who had remained at Iona from the time of its conversion to the Roman usages, died there on the twenty-fourth of April, 729, being Easter-day. He had celebrated

¹ Annals of Tighearnach—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 235. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 323.

the Eucharist on the same morning, and it was remarked that he who had procured the establishment of the true Paschal canon died at Easter-tide, and on a day on which the festival had never before been kept at Iona. He was ninety years old at the time of his decease.¹

During the primacy of the second Killen, two disasters at sea are recorded by the annalists. Failbe, son of Guaire, who had succeeded St. Malruba at Applecross in 722, was drowned in 737, with his sailors, twenty-two in number; and in 749 several of the family of Iona perished in the same manner.²

Eadfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, died in 721, and was succeeded by Ethelwald, Abbot of Melrose, who is mentioned by Bede as occupying the see at the time when his History closes. Ethelwald died in the year 740, and, as he had presided over the monastery of Melrose before the end of the preceding century, he must have attained an advanced age. His successor in the diocese of Lindisfarne was Cynewulf.³

One of the last events related by Bede in his Ecclesiastical History is the restoration of the see of Candida Casa. The precise date of the new erection is not mentioned, but it probably took place towards the end of the reign of Osric, King of Northumbria, who died in 729. The portion of the British territory, afterwards known by the name of Galloway, was at this time subject to the Northumbrian sovereigns, and the number of the faithful having greatly increased in that quarter, it was formed into a separate diocese.⁴

The choice of Candida Casa as the seat of the bishopric was undoubtedly owing to the reverence paid to it as the residence and burial-place of St. Ninian. There is no evidence that a regular succession of British bishops had been kept up there to this time, and the troubled

¹ Bede, lib. iii. c. 27; lib. v. cc. 22, 23. According to the Scottish computation, Easter could never have been so late as the twenty-fourth of April.

² Annals of Tighearnac—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 241, 249. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 86. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. pp. 329, 347.

³ Bede, lib. v. c. 23. *Continuatio Chronologica Hist. Eccles.* Florence Worcester—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 541.

⁴ Bede, lib. v. c. 23. The historian, writing in the year 731, speaks of the see as then recently erected.

state of Cumbria would rather lead us to believe otherwise. But it is not at all improbable that the monastery founded by Ninian was still in existence, though no longer possessing its former reputation as one of the most famous schools in the island. It may even have been the occasional residence of some of those bishops who are known to have presided over the British Church; and it was in accordance with the usual practice of their nation for the English to choose, as the seat of the bishopric, a place hallowed by former associations, rather than one hitherto unknown. But however this may have been, the second cathedral of Candida Casa was practically a new foundation, the ancient establishment merging in it.

The first Bishop of the restored see was Pecthelm. He had been deacon to Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, and was on terms of intimacy with Bede. He must also have been highly esteemed by St. Boniface, as we find that archbishop asking his advice, along with that of Nothelm of Canterbury, on an important question connected with the law of marriage. Pecthelm died in 735, and was succeeded by Frithwald, who received consecration from Egbert, Archbishop of York, on the fifteenth day of August in the same year.¹

The twenty-seventh day of May, 735, is remarkable for the decease of Venerable Bede, whose holy death, in some of the circumstances connected with it, resembled that of our own Columba. The last ray of light which proceeds from his pages falls on the episcopate of Archbishop Egbert. This prelate is not mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History. At the conclusion of that work in 731, the see of York was filled by the younger Wilfrid. Egbert succeeded in 732, and in 734 Bede addressed to him his well-known letter. In that epistle he suggests an increase in the Northumbrian bishoprics, so that the full number of twelve, contemplated by St. Gregory, might be completed, with York for the metropolitan Church. It does not appear that any increase of dioceses took place, but in the year 735 Egbert obtained the pall from Rome, and

¹ Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cc. 13, 18, 23. Florence of Worcester—Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 542. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—ibid. p. 334. Cont. Chron. Hist. Eccles. See also Innes's History, p. 323, and Wright's Biographia Britannica Literaria, vol. i. p. 320.

thus became the second archbishop, no one having held that dignity in the northern province from the time of Paulinus.¹

For several centuries after the date at which Bede's narrative closes, the ecclesiastical annals of Scotland are uninteresting and obscure, and altogether unvaried by the details which give such a charm to the great work of that writer.

Killen Droichteach, Abbot of Iona, died in the year 752.² He is styled, in the notices of his decease, "the anchorite of Iona." It is probable that during his latter years he had embraced the eremitical life.

Killen's successor was a second Failbe, whose decease, according to the Four Masters, took place in 754, although the true date is probably 755. Failbe was succeeded by Sleben, who appears to have resigned the primacy, as Suibne, the second of that name, is mentioned as abbot in 766, while the death of Sleben is stated to have taken place in 767. Suibne died in 772. During his primacy, Niall Frosach, King of Ireland, resigned his kingdom, and became a monk at Iona, where he died in 780.³

From the time of St. Kentigern little is known of the state of the Church in Cumbria. That a succession of bishops was kept up there, as in the other British kingdoms, we may hold as certain, and it is probable that the see of Glasgow still existed. But no distinct narrative has come down to us: a few unconnected incidents are all that have been preserved.

The position of Cumbria became more isolated when the facility of intercourse with the Britons of the South was cut off through the occupation of Carlisle by the Northumbrian Egfrid. It was probably during the reign of this prince that Galloway was subjected to the English rule; and the whole Cumbrian kingdom was perhaps reduced to a state of vassalage at the same time. The victory of the Picts at Dunnichen restored freedom, as Bede tells us, to a portion of the Britons. The meaning seems to be that Cumbria, now limited to what is properly called Strathclyde, recovered its

¹ Cont. Chron. Hist. Eccles. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 328.

² Annals of Tighearnach—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 250. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* vol. iv. p. 95. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 351.

³ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. pp. 357, 369, 371. Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. pp. 101, 104. See also Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 192.

independence, though a great part of the kingdom, from Carrick southwards, continued subject to the English. The Doon was the northern boundary of the conquered territory, and this district, in the reign of Osric, was erected into the diocese of Candida Casa. In the year 750, Eadbert, King of Northumbria, subdued Kyle,¹ probably the last addition made to the dominion of the Angles. A still greater calamity soon afterwards befel the Cumbrians. Their capital, Alcluyd, was taken in 756 by the united arms of Eadbert, and of Hungus, King of the Picts.² The fact that this was accomplished only by the combination of two such powerful sovereigns seems to imply that the Britons were still formidable. The conquest of Alcluyd was not a permanent one; it was again recovered by its ancient owners.

Frithwald, the second Bishop of Candida Casa of the English line, died on the seventh day of May, 763, and was succeeded by Pechtwin, who was consecrated on the seventeenth of July, in the same year, and held the see till his decease on the nineteenth of September, 776. Ethelbert, the successor of Pechtwin, was consecrated at York on the fifteenth of June, 777, and was subsequently translated to Hexham. Baldwulf, the next Bishop of Candida Casa, received consecration also at York from the Archbishop Eanbald, on the seventeenth of July, 791. In 795, Baldwulf, along with Ethelbert, Bishop of Hexham, and Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne, assisted Eanbald, Archbishop of York, in consecrating Eardwulf to be King of Northumbria. We may infer from this statement that the number of English bishoprics north of the Humber, at the end of the eighth century, was the same as at the close of the Ecclesiastical History of Bede; the only difference being that the other sees were now the suffragans of York.³

It is said that Baldwulf was also present along with the same archbishop, and Eanbert, Bishop of Hexham, at the

¹ "Eadberctus campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus suo regno addidit." *Cout. Chron. Hist. Eccles.*

² Simeon of Durham, *de gestis Regum Anglorum*—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 662.

³ See in regard to the succession of the Bishops of Candida Casa the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 333, 334, 335, 337, 338. See also Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant*—*Works*, vol. vi. p. 206; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 329, and vol. iii. p. 415; and Ritson's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 312-314.

consecration of Egbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, on the eleventh of June, 803.¹ This is the latest notice which is to be found of the line of Pecthelm. The condition of Northumbria was becoming more and more distracted. Galloway was now the battlefield of Picts and Scots, Britons, Saxons, and Danes; and amid these dissensions the succession of the see of Candida Casa, for a second time, came to an end. Malmesbury expressly asserts that Baldwulf was its last known bishop, and that the liability of Galloway to foreign invasion at this time was the cause of the extinction of the see. Usher, indeed, refers to an ancient list which mentions Heathored as succeeding Baldwulf, and the same statement is made in a catalogue of the Bishops of Candida Casa, appended to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester. This, however, is evidently an error; the name of Heathored was probably transferred by some mistake from the list of the Bishops of Lindisfarne.²

In 780, Cynewulf resigned the see of Lindisfarne after an episcopate of forty years. He died in 782. His successor was Higbald, after whose decease Egbert was consecrated bishop in 803. Egbert was succeeded by Heathored in 819, and the latter by Eccred in 828. Eccred was famous for his benefactions to the Church of Lindisfarne; and among other grants he bestowed upon it the town and church of Jedburgh. This is the first indication we have of any thing resembling the establishment of a parish within the limits of modern Scotland; parochial divisions, it is probable, were by this time common in the Northumbrian kingdom. Eccred dying in 845 was succeeded by Eanbert, who held the see till his decease in 854.³

The powerful and victorious Hungus, King of the Picts, died in peace in 761. The author of the chronological continuation of Bede speaks of him as a cruel tyrant during the whole course of his reign; but severe remarks of this kind, made by English writers on the northern sovereigns,

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 693.

² Malmesbury, *de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, lib. iii. — *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 273. Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Ant—Works*, vol. vi. pp. 206, 612. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 626. Ritson's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 313.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 335, 336, 341. Florence of Worcester—*ibid.* pp. 547, 548, 549, 551. Simeon of Durham—*ibid.* p. 675. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 698.

must be taken with great qualification. Knowing what the chroniclers of that nation afterwards said of Malcolm Canmore and Alexander III., we may well distrust this statement about Hungus. In his wars with the Saxons he may have been cruel; but it does not follow that he was tyrannical to his own subjects.

The successor of the second Suibne, as Abbot of Iona, was Bresal, who held the primacy for thirty years, and died in 801. Under the year 782, the Irish annalists mention the pilgrimage to that island of Artgail, King of Connaught, who became a monk at Iona, where he died in 791.¹

The primacy of Connach, the successor of Bresal, lasted only for a single year.² The next abbot, Kellach, succeeded in 802. During his primacy the Danes, who had for some time been wasting the neighbouring coasts of Britain and Ireland, attacked Iona. The savage devastations of the northern pirates, as is well known, were particularly directed against the churches and monasteries. We are told by the Saxon chronicler that, in 793, "the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne;" and now the mother house was to undergo a like calamity. At the very commencement of Kellach's rule, the monastery of Iona was burnt by the Pagans. In 806, the attack was renewed, and sixty-eight of the community were slain. It is supposed that Kellach fled at this time to Ireland, and that during his residence there he founded the Columbite monastery of Kells. He resigned the primacy in 814, and died in the following year.³

During the rule of the next abbot, Diermit, the attacks of the Danes were again renewed, and the year 825 is distinguished in the history of Iona by the martyrdom of Blaithmae. An account of this event has been preserved in the poetical narrative of Walafrid Strabo, and thus forms an addition to

¹ Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. pp. 110, 120. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. pp. 383, 393, 405.

² Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 405.

³ Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. pp. 193, 195, 199. Annals of Innisfallen—*ibid.* vol. ii. cod. Dublin. p. 27. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. pp. 407, 411, 423. Annals of Clonmacnois, note, *ibid.* p. 412. See also Annals of Ulster, and of Clonmacnois, note to the Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 413; and Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 131, and vol. iii. p. 252.

the scanty notices of the annalists. Blaithmac was the son of an Irish prince, named Flann. He embraced the monastic life, and attained the dignity of abbot, presiding over a numerous community, but we are not told where his monastery was situated. He passed over to Iona, and while he abode there the Danes landed on the island. He refused to flee, but advised all who were not, like himself, desirous of the crown of martyrdom, to provide for their safety. He was celebrating the Eucharist at an early hour of the day, when the Danes rushed into the church. After killing his companions, they demanded from Blaithmac the precious shrine in which the relics of St. Columba were preserved. He answered that he did not know the spot where it was concealed, and that if he did he would not point it out. While he was commending himself to God, the heathens slew him. He was afterwards buried in the place where he died.¹

It appears from this account of St. Blaithmac's martyrdom that the relics of St. Columba were then concealed, in order to secure them from the Danes. The notices in the annalists shew that the Abbots of Iona used every precaution for their safety. It is recorded under the year 829, that the abbot Diermit went with them to Albany—that is, to some part of the dominions of the Scots or Picts on the mainland; and, in 831, that he carried them to Ireland.² The precise duration of the primacy of Diermit is not mentioned; we only know that Indrecht had succeeded some time between 831 and 849, in which last year it is stated that he came to Ireland with the relics of St. Columba.³ In the interval, the relics must have been brought back to Iona, or to the Scottish mainland.

¹ See *Versus de B. Blaithmaic vita et fini*, in the second part of the second volume of the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Canisius, edited by Basnage, and in Pinkerton's *Vitæ Antiquæ*. Walafrid Strabo was Abbot of Reichenau, in the diocese of Constance, a monastery originally of Irish foundation (Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 389), and died in 848 or 849. See farther as to St. Blaithmac the *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 205; and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 437; and *Lanigan*, vol. iii. p. 252-255.

² *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 205. Perhaps, however, in connection with this and some other notices, the object of the abbot may have been to make a visitation as successor to St. Columba, on which occasions it was usual to carry about his relics; see Dr. Reeves' *Introduction to Primate Colton's Visitation*, p. iii.—x.

³ *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 219.

Towards the commencement of Diermit's primacy, in the year 816, the English prelates south of the Humber met in council at Calcuith, under the presidency of Wulfrid, Archbishop of Canterbury. The fifth canon of this council forbade any of the nation of the Scots to be allowed to celebrate the sacraments, or minister otherwise in the offices of the Church; the prohibition being on account of the uncertainty whether, and by whom, they were ordained. The chief cause of the doubt, so far as can be discovered from the canon itself, was the want of metropolitan jurisdiction among the Scots.¹ The words of it apply to the Scottish clergy, whether of Britain or Ireland, and such was no doubt its intent.

The canon has been thought by some to afford a proof that at this time there was an essential difference in doctrine, or ecclesiastical polity, between the English and Scottish Churches. In the former respect, such a notion is entirely erroneous; in the latter, it is so far correct; but the real points of diversity have not in general been properly understood. Both Churches had the same degrees in the ministry, and both alike insisted on episcopal ordination as essential to the validity of the priestly office. But in other respects there was not the same uniformity. In England, from the time of Archbishop Theodore, a well-defined system of diocesan and metropolitan government had been established. Among the Scots, both of Ireland and Britain, as will afterwards be more fully explained, there was neither diocese, nor province, but a monastic system, in which bishops, so far as jurisdiction was concerned, were frequently inferior to abbots. One consequence of this system was that, in Ireland at least, a custom prevailed of raising persons to the episcopate as a mark of respect for their piety or learning, although no pastoral cure was committed to

¹ The canon is thus given by Wilkins (*Concilia Magnæ Britannię et Hibernię*, vol. i. p. 170): "Quinto interdictum est; ut nullus permittatur de genere Scotorum in alicujus diocesi sacrum sibi ministerium usurpare, neque ei consentire liceat, ex sacro ordine aliquod attingere vel ab eis accipere in baptismo, aut in celebratione missarum, vel etiam eucharistiam populo præbere, quia incertum est nobis, unde, et an ab aliquo ordinentur. Scimus quomodo in canonibus præcipitur ut nullus episcoporum [vel] presbyterorum invadere tentaverit alius parochiam, nisi cum consensu proprii episcopi. Tanto magis respuendum est, ab alienis nationibus sacra ministeria percipere, cum quibus nullus ordo metropolitani, nec honor aliquis habeatur."

them. Some of these bishops conferred orders, both in their own country and in foreign parts, without due precaution, and occasionally, it would seem, from motives of gain. The parties so ordained had either no letters of orders to shew, or, at best, could only produce the testimonial of one whose own consecration was doubted, inasmuch as he had no fixed see, and no metropolitan, and so was unknown in other parts of Christendom. This led to the enactment of a canon by a council held at Chalons on the Saone in 813, which declared such ordinations by Scottish bishops to be null; and similar reasons no doubt led to the decree of the English synod. By this time the intercourse which formerly existed between the Scottish and English Churches had become much less frequent; no friendly ties bound them together as of old; and the bishops at Calcuith, in their anxiety to check an admitted abuse, went farther than was either necessary or just.

With the exception of the journey to Ireland which has been mentioned, the annalists supply no notice of the Abbot Indrecht, until they relate his decease. He was killed by the Saxons on the twelfth day of March, 854, while on a pilgrimage to Rome. Of the cause or circumstances of his death nothing is recorded. He is styled a wise man and a good, and his decease is spoken of as a martyrdom. This does not necessarily imply that he died for the faith. The violent death of a pilgrim on his way to Rome may naturally enough have been so described.¹

There is sufficient evidence for believing that Indrecht was the last Abbot of Iona who held the primacy of the Scottish Church. The change in the seat of ecclesiastical government is connected with one of the most important events in the history of our country—the union of the Picts and Scots under one sovereign. The particular circumstances of that event have not yet been ascertained, and will probably ever remain in obscurity. Kenneth, son of Alpin, the lineal descendant of Aidan who had been inaugurated by St. Columba, succeeded his father as King of the Albanian Scots,

¹ Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 22. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 487. William of Malmesbury wrote an account of the martyrdom of Indrecht, a manuscript of which is in the Bodleian Library; see Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 141.

in 836. He also claimed, through the female line, to be the true inheritor of the Pictish kingdom, in conformity with the singular law of succession which prevailed in that nation. He was himself an able and resolute prince, and he was probably supported by the zealous aid of the clergy, whom it had been the policy of the Pictish sovereigns to depress and hold in subjection. The efforts of Kenneth were successful. He was acknowledged as King of the Picts in the year 843.

One sovereign now ruled in Northern Britain from Caithness to the Forth. The residence of Kenneth and his successors of the Scottish race was at the Pictish capital of Forteviot, in Stratherne. The same motives which induced them to reside in their new kingdom would lead to the transfer of the ecclesiastical metropolis to a place more convenient, under these altered circumstances, than Iona. Inheriting the religious supremacy of the Pictish sovereigns, Kenneth could the more readily accomplish this object; but other causes combined to make it desirable, and to facilitate its execution. Iona, from its situation, was exposed to the attacks of the Danes. This had made it necessary, on more than one occasion, to remove the hallowed relics with which its sanctity was associated. It would be an act of piety, no less than of policy, to provide for these relics a fit resting place, where they would be less exposed to the sacrilegious invasions of the spoiler. In Dunkeld on the Tay such a place was found. Part at least of the relics was transported to the church erected there, dedicated to St. Columba; and at Dunkeld was established the second ecclesiastical metropolis of Northern Britain, in the year of our Lord 849. That date is both the most probable in itself, and most in accordance with such authorities as we have for this obscure period of our history. The Pictish Chronicle tells us¹ that Kenneth, in the seventh year of his reign—that is, in the seventh year of his reign as King of the Picts—translated the relics of St. Columba to the church which he built. The situation of this church is not mentioned, but two of our ablest antiquaries are of opinion that it was at Dun-

¹ "Septimo anno regni, reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit." Appendix to Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 783, and to Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 494.

keld. Pinkerton refers to an ancient Saxon manuscript in direct proof of this, and Chalmers expressly connects the erection of the church with the change in the primacy.¹

There are two difficulties in relation to this point which must not be overlooked. Under the very year in which King Kenneth's church was erected, the Annals of Ulster relate, as already mentioned, that the abbot Indrecht came to Ireland with the relics of St. Columba. Chalmers solves the difficulty by supposing that Ireland was put by mistake for Scotland.² A more probable conjecture may be made, that a portion of the relics was translated to Dunkeld by the king, with the very intention of removing the primacy at the same time, while the rest were taken to Ireland by the abbot, who was unwilling to be a party to the change. This would also

¹ "It has been the subject of some difficulty to discover the church founded by Kenneth III., to which he transferred the remains of St. Columba, after Icolmkill began to be infested by the Danes. A Saxon manuscript, probably of the tenth century, published by Hickes, serves to elucidate this point. It is entitled 'De Sanctis in Anglia sepultis,' and immediately after St. Alban, who is first mentioned, is 'Sanctus Columcille requiescit in loco dicto Duncahan, juxta fluvium Tau.' It is evident that Duncahan is Duncaldan or Dunkeld upon the river Tay; so that the Irish vainly contend that his bones were carried to Ireland, though, perhaps, his crosier, or some other relics, may have been conveyed thither." Pinkerton's Enquiry, advertisement, p. ix. "One of the first acts of the reign of Kenneth was to shew his respect for the memory of that Apostle of the Scots and Picts by building a church, wherein the relics of the Saint were deposited in A.D. 849. The site of this sacred depository has not yet been fixed by antiquaries, yet was it at Dunkeld where Kenneth built the church which he dedicated to Columba. Thus Dunkeld and its church became sacred to Columba, who equally became the patron saint of both. A religious house was there built, upon the same system as the original establishment at Iona. In it a bishop resided; over it an abbot ruled; and this seems to have been the ecclesiastical plan of almost all the religious establishments in North Britain, during the Scottish period. From the epoch of 848 [849] the church of Dunkeld appears to have formed the primacy of Scotland for several ages, till it was supplanted in its turn by St. Andrews." Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 427, 428. Chalmers, as is not unusual, writes rather carelessly, but to him undoubtedly belongs the merit of the discovery in regard to King Kenneth's church. Pinkerton is not very candid in this respect. The first volume of the Caledonia was published in 1807; the advertisement to the Enquiry is prefixed to the edition of 1814, and is dated in February of that year. The concluding portion of the advertisement contains some severe remarks on Chalmers; yet Pinkerton speaks as if the true site of the church had been previously unknown. In regard to the change of primacy, he had indicated (Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 268) an opinion similar to that of Chalmers.

² Caledonia, vol. i. p. 428.

account for the conflicting statements of the chroniclers in regard to the place where in after times the relics of St. Columba were preserved. The other difficulty is, that the Register of St. Andrews,¹ and some other authorities of a later date, ascribe the foundation of Dunkeld to Constantine, son of Urgust, King of the Picts, in the beginning of the ninth century. But this statement, even if correct, is not necessarily inconsistent with the other. The first church may have been destroyed, and a new one may have been built by Kenneth to receive the relics of Columba, and to be the future seat of the primacy.

Whatever may have been the precise circumstances in which the transfer of the primacy originated, there was no unfriendly feeling, in after years, between the two ecclesiastical seats. When a regular diocesan episcopacy was established in Scotland, the abbot of Iona acknowledged subjection, not to the see of the Isles, or to the neighbouring prelate of Argyll, but to the distant bishop of Dunkeld. The tie which bound them together was their common reverence for the memory of St. Columba. Without the translation of his relics, it is probable that neither Kenneth, nor his subjects, would have looked on any change of the primatial seat as regular or valid. The jurisdiction, which in honour of the Saint had originally been conferred on Iona, was now transferred to Dunkeld, just as afterwards the Northumbrian see was translated with the relics of St. Cuthbert from Lindisfarne to Durham.

It would be interesting to learn what were the other chief ecclesiastical establishments in Northern Britain, when the primacy of Iona ended in the middle of the ninth century. Hardly anything, however, is known with certainty, beyond what has already been incidentally stated. The erection and restoration of Whithorn, the British church at Glasgow, and the English foundations at Melrose, Coldingham, Abercorn, and Tynningham, have been mentioned. The monasteries established during the lifetime of St. Columba, and the church built by King Nectan, have also been referred to. There can be no doubt that Abernethy, St. Andrews, and Lochleven, already existed, and that they actually were, what they are represented to have been, foundations of the Pictish kings.

¹ Excerpta e Registro Prioratus S. Andreæ—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 800.

The legend of the erection of Abernethy, by Nectan, son of Irb, and the conjecture which identifies it with the church of Nectan, son of Dereli, have already been mentioned. It is probable that one of the Nectans was actually the founder, either the son of Dereli, or another prince of that name who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, and who, being also designed the son, or nephew, of Irb, may thus have been confounded with the earlier Nectan of the legend. Yet a universal tradition cannot be claimed even for the name of Nectan. Both Fordun and Winton ascribe the foundation to Garnard, the immediate successor of Brude, son of Mailcon, the first Christian king of the Picts. Another opinion grew up among Scottish writers in regard to Abernethy. They speak of it as the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of the Picts, and tell us that, on the conquest of the nation by Kenneth Mac-Alpin, the primacy was transferred to St. Andrews. This story, which is utterly void of truth, took its rise, like so many others, from a hint in Fordun, amplified and improved by Boece. Forteviot, not Abernethy, was the abode of the Pietish kings, and though the latter may have been the residence of a bishop, it has no claim whatever to the primatial dignity.

The legendary history of St. Andrews has already been fully discussed. The sovereign to whom its real erection has generally been ascribed is Hungus, son of Urgust—not the great king of that name who took Aleluyd, but a later prince, who reigned from 821 to 833.¹ Yet if we may believe the Irish annalists—and there is nothing improbable in the statement—it was founded at least a century before this time. St. Andrews, under its well known Celtic name of Kilremont, is mentioned by the Four Masters, who record the death of Tuathalan, the abbot, in the year 742.²

A difficulty, similar to that which has been mentioned in connection with Abernethy, exists in regard to the foundation of Lochleven. Our writers agree in stating that it was erected,

¹ See Innes's History, p. 332, and Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 256, 309; vol. ii. p. 267.

² Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 345. Tuathalan is there called Abbot of Ceann-Righmonaidh. "In the Feilire-Aenguis and O'Clery's Irish Calendar, this monastery is called Cill-Righmonaidh, and described as in Alba or Scotland. It was the ancient name of St. Andrews." Note, *ibid.* p. 344.

and dedicated to St. Serf, by Brude, King of the Picts; but it is doubtful whether this was Brude, son of Dereli, the brother and predecessor of Nectan who corresponded with Ceolfrid, or Brude, the last of the Pictish sovereigns.¹

The remote monastery of St. Malruba probably still existed. The Four Masters tell us that in the year 802 Macoige of Applecross became Abbot of Bangor. It may naturally be inferred that a connection was always kept up between the Scottish monastery and the mother-house in Ireland. This is the last notice of Applecross which we find in the annalists.²

Various notices occur in the Irish chronicles of a monastery at Kingarth, in Bute, the superiors of which were, at least occasionally, of the episcopal order. It is mentioned as early as the year 660.³

¹ See on this point Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 311, with references to Winton and the Chartulary of St. Andrews.

² Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 405. Letter, by Dr. Reeves, in the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal of July, 1849.

³ Reeves' Adamnan, additional notes, pp. 375, 377, 385, 386, 387.

CHAPTER X.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT OF IONA.

Peculiar form of ecclesiastical government at Iona—The Abbot a presbyter not a bishop—Abbots of Iona Primates of the Picts and Scots—Controversy on this subject—No dioceses or parishes in the ancient Celtic Church—The jurisdiction abbatial not episcopal—The clergy monastic and collegiate, not parochial—Vassalage of the Church in the Pictish kingdom—Decline of the ancient monastic system.

THE historical narrative has been brought down to the period when Iona ceased to be the metropolis of the Scottish Church. This appears to be the proper place for explaining more fully the ecclesiastical system which prevailed during the three centuries in which St. Columba and his successors were the Primates of the Scots and Picts. The subject, though a most interesting and important one, is attended with great difficulty, in consequence of the want of full and authentic information regarding the points to be examined. The modern writers who have treated it are indeed sufficiently numerous, but their investigations have in the general case been rather controversial than historical. Grave religious questions are more or less involved in the enquiry; and it need excite no surprise that the authors who have discussed them are sometimes actuated rather by the wish to find an argument or a precedent for the opinions which they themselves hold, than by an impartial love of truth.

When reference is made to the ecclesiastical system with which the name of Iona is connected, the first thought is almost always turned to what was its most remarkable, though not its most important feature—the peculiar form of government which existed under it.

Before St. Columba left Ireland, he had founded the monasteries of Derry and Durrow, besides others of less name; but after the erection of Iona, all the religious establishments

which originated with the Saint himself, or with his immediate disciples, whether in Ireland or Britain, were subject to that monastery. The same system also continued under his successors. This is implied in the notices of the Irish annalists, and of Cuminius and Adamnan, and is confirmed by the express testimony of Bede.¹

Iona, though posterior in date to several of the monasteries, and therefore not properly the mother-house of the order, was the seat of government, as having been the residence and burial-place of Columba. Its abbot was the superior of the whole Columbite family. He was assisted by a select council of his monks, the members of which, as in other monastic communities, were known by the name of elders. The monks of Iona had the chief voice in the election of their abbot, but the superiors of the other monasteries were probably consulted. In all cases the choice seems to have fallen on persons of their own order, and it was no doubt confined to them. There was one important restriction: a bishop was disqualified from sitting in Columba's chair; the abbot required of necessity to be only a presbyter, because Columba himself was a priest, not a bishop.² This fundamental rule was not once broken through, so long as Iona retained the primacy of Scotland.

In what has yet been mentioned there was nothing uncommon. The subordination of all the establishments of a religious order to the chief or parent house, was the usual custom both in the earlier and later days of monasticism. The successor of St. Columba, so far, occupied a position resembling that of the abbot of Cluny or of Cîteaux in after times. Even the appointment of a presbyter rather than a bishop to the

¹ "Monachus ipse episcopus Ædan, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hii destinatus: cujus monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scotorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat." *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 3.* "Fecerat autem [Columba] priusquam Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dearthach lingua Scotorum, hoc est, Campus Roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque monasterio, plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus et in Britannia et in Hibernia propagata sunt: in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret." *Ibid. c. 4.*

² "Habero autem solet ipsa iusula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, . . . juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus." *Ibid.*

office was in conformity with the general practice of other communities, and in some cases, as in that of the great Irish monastery of Bangor, was an express rule. But the Abbots of Iona were not merely the superiors of the Columbite order, and of all the establishments belonging to it wherever situated; they were also the Primates of the whole Church in the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots. There is no sufficient evidence to shew that in this capacity they had any jurisdiction in Ireland. It has indeed been asserted that they exercised primatial authority in some parts of that island, but the assertion is disputed, and apparently on good grounds.¹

The origin of the primacy of Iona may be easily explained. Columba had naturally great influence with his kinsmen, the sovereigns of the British Scots. They were not converted by him, but he was their chief teacher, and the head of an illustrious order to which their clergy generally belonged; he had inaugurated the most powerful of their kings, and by his means their territory had become the seat of the most famous monastery of their nation. Among the Picts his claims were still greater. He had converted their king and a large part of their nation from heathenism. To him it was owing that they were Christians at all; and when the Church was set up among them, they looked upon him as its supreme earthly head. The Northern Picts, among whom the sovereign resided, would naturally extend the system adopted by themselves over their less powerful countrymen of the South; and if, after a period of decline, religion was restored among the latter by means of Columba, his authority would be the more readily admitted. In this way the primacy of the Scots and Picts was vested in Columba and his successors. In virtue of it, all of whatever rank or degree were subjected to their rule; even the bishops themselves, after a manner very unusual in

¹ Notkerus Balbulus says in reference to St. Columba, and alluding evidently to the divisions of Adamnan's Life: ". . . adeo ut Abba monasterii cui novissime præfuit, et ubi requiescit, contra morem ecclesiasticum Primas omnium Hybernensium habeatur episcoporum, nec immerito, quia idem Sanctus, per inhabitationem Sancti Spiritus, nulli post Apostolos et mirabilem Martinum in prophetia, doctrina, et miraculorum ostensione, atque Angelica frequentatione, videatur secundus." (*Martyrologium—Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ*, vol. ii. pars iii. p. 140.) This inaccurate statement is denied by Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Ant.—Works*, vol. vi. p. 244). See also Laigan, vol. ii. p. 252.

the Church, were subordinate in point of jurisdiction to the presbyter-abbot of Iona.¹

This singular subjection of the highest order of the clergy to a presbyter, who by the very tenure of his office could not himself be raised to the episcopate, excited the surprise of the English historian who records the fact, and has been the fruitful source of discussion in later ages of the Church. Many writers, fearing that such a system as this seems to imply would afford an argument against the divine right of the episcopal order, have shrunk from admitting the statement of Bede in its plain meaning. They have endeavoured to shew that those bishops only were subject to the Abbot of Iona, who were inmates of his monastery, or, at all events, members of the Columbite community. On this supposition, they rightly state that such a system has in repeated instances found its parallel in modern times, without any real derogation from episcopal authority; ² and they refer in illustration to a bishop holding a canonry in a cathedral, where, as one of the chapter, he is inferior to the dean, or to his possessing an office in a university, and being in that capacity subordinate to the chancellor and vice-chancellor. But Bede himself would have seen nothing very unusual in this. He was familiar with cases where bishops, as members of a monastery, or simply by residing within its walls, became subject to the authority even of an abness. It has farther been attempted to explain the difficulty, by supposing that the subjection of the bishops to Columba and his successors was not ecclesiastical, but secular, in respect of the abbots being lords of Iona by the gift of the Scottish or the Pictish sovereign. This, however, is still less to the purpose. Not to mention other

¹ Bede, after mentioning, as already quoted, that Iona had always a presbyter-abbot, adds (*Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4*), "*cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti.*" So also in the preceding chapter, after stating that Iona was the chief monastery among most of the Northern Scots, and all the Picts, he says; "*regendisque eorum populis præerat.*" Yet more distinct is the disputed passage in the Saxon Chronicle: "Now in Ii there must ever be an abbot, and not a bishop, and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbot, not a bishop." (*Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 303.*)

² Even down to the year 1752, the presbyter-abbot of the great monastery of Fulda had under him a bishop, for the purpose of ordination and other episcopal functions. See *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris, vol. viii. p. 465.

objections, it is manifestly of proper spiritual authority that Bede is speaking.

The much-contested expressions must therefore be taken in their obvious meaning. The Abbot of Iona was the ecclesiastical ruler, not only of the monks of his own monastery, with the bishops residing in it, and of the Columbite order in Britain and Ireland, but also of the "whole province"—by which appears to be meant the country of the Northern Picts, and of the British Scots. All the inhabitants of this province were subject to him, princes and people, clergy and monks, and even the bishops themselves.¹

This supremacy, though singular at the time, will not appear so extraordinary when the real nature of the authority possessed by the Abbots of Iona is properly explained. Although the Abbot of Iona was the ecclesiastical ruler of the whole kingdom of the Picts and the Scots, he had not in that capacity, and beyond the limits of the Columbite monasteries, such authority as a bishop has in his diocese, or even as a metropolitan has in his province. St. Columba's own influence was to a great extent personal, and ended with himself. His successors were simply primates, and their power was limited in various ways—by their own monks as their ordinary advisers and council; by the heads of the other Columbite houses as the administrators of the order; and by the sovereigns in all points of a temporal, and occasionally in those of an ecclesiastical character. That the abbots were sometimes unable to carry out their wishes in opposition to those most immediately subjected to their rule, we have seen exemplified in the case of Adamnan. Although personally the most distinguished of Columba's successors, he entirely failed in bringing his own monks of Iona to conformity with the Roman usages.

The nature and extent of the jurisdiction possessed by the Abbots of Iona, in virtue of their primatial power, will be better understood, when viewed in connection with other

¹ The argument in favour of the limited power of the abbot is ably stated by Lloyd (*Church Government in Great Britain and Ireland*, c. vii.), and by Russell (*Supplement to Dissertation on the Culdees*, prefixed to Keith's Catalogue; and *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i. c. i.). So far, however, as this particular point is concerned, Dr. Jamieson shews that Bishop Lloyd is mistaken; and he is not satisfactorily answered by Bishop Russell. See *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, c. iii.

parts of the ecclesiastical system of the Pictish and Scottish Churches. It is well known that there were no parochial divisions northward of the Forth till long after the era of the union under Kenneth Mac-Alpin; but the fact that up to that time no diocese had been established within these limits is not so generally admitted. As there were certainly bishops, it was also presumed that there were dioceses; at all events, that there were two, equal in extent to the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, the see of the one being at Iona, that of the other at Abernethy. But of this no evidence exists. We know indeed that there were bishops residing in St. Columba's monastery, but these were not diocesan bishops; they had no independent jurisdiction, being subject to the abbot, not merely as primate, but as superior of the Columbite order, and head of the monastery. It is also very probable, though we have no sufficient proof, that there were such bishops at Abernethy, as there certainly were in other parts of the Pictish kingdom; but that monastery was not the seat of a regular diocese.

Had there been a proper episcopal see of any kind, some traces would have been found in the annalists of a diocesan succession. But there are none such. An episcopal succession was kept up, but it was not in connection with any fixed seat or territory; it was a succession of order alone, not of jurisdiction. In this respect, therefore, Sir James Dalrymple and other writers of similar views are correct in denying that there were dioceses in the ancient Scottish Church, and in contending that there was no territorial episcopal succession in those times. The two kingdoms of the Picts and Scots really formed one diocese, of which Iona was the see, and its abbot the presiding prelate: and thus, while we cannot point out a single bishop who succeeded to another, we can trace the abbatial line in almost unbroken descent from the time of Columba.

There being then no diocesan bishops in Celtic Scotland, but in their place one primatial presbyter-abbot, it may next be enquired by what means the knowledge of Christianity was kept up, and ecclesiastical government administered. Columba himself went forth from Iona to preach the Gospel among the Picts. Wherever a sufficient number of converts

were gathered together, or where a fit opening appeared for the commencement of a new mission, a monastery was established. The buildings consisted of a church, and of the necessary dwellings for the brethren. Each of these families, as the monastic communities were expressively styled, had its own priests, and other members of the clerical order, its lay-brethren, and dependants, all living under the paternal rule of the abbot. Where they were of sufficient importance to require it, they may have had one or more of the episcopal order residing among them, to provide for the ordination of clergy; or the superior may have been himself a bishop, although that circumstance would have made no addition to his abbatial authority. These various communities acknowledged the primacy of Iona, and, when they belonged to the Columbite order, were bound by an additional tie to the parent monastery. At first, it is probable that all the clergy among the Northern Picts, and a considerable number among the Scots belonged to this order; but, as time went on, many came to have no monastic dependence on the metropolis, and other regular communities, such as that of St. Malruba, established themselves in various parts of the Pictish kingdom. Among the Southern Picts the primacy was the connecting link with Iona.

The monastic and collegiate institutions so established were supported by the produce of their own lands, and by the free-will offerings of those intrusted to their care. From the earliest period such property in land was bestowed upon them by the liberality of the faithful, though some of the stricter among them shrunk from accepting these donations, beyond what was absolutely necessary for their subsistence. Tithes were almost unknown; at least, they were not common. The Celtic nations seem to have had a prejudice against this mode of supporting their clergy. In Scotland, as in Ireland, tithes were only introduced under foreign influence, and generally by the strong arm of another race.

From their monasteries the Scottish clergy went forth to preach the Gospel, to teach, to baptize, and to administer the Eucharist and other rites of the Church. These humble abodes of the religion of our forefathers continued to increase in number as the zealous missionaries spread themselves over

the land; but there must have been many wild tracts of country where the glad tidings of salvation were only heard when the preacher from the far-off monastery made his appearance at distant intervals.

No record of our ancient Church remains in which its ecclesiastical system is described; but the few details which have been given are confirmed by the incidental allusions in Cuminius and Adamnan, by the analogy of the Irish Church where a similar state of matters is known to have existed, and by the proceedings of the Scottish missionaries and their disciples in England.

The biographers of Columba shew us the Saint and his followers going from place to place, preaching the Gospel, and administering its ordinances; and they repeatedly allude to the monasteries established during his lifetime in the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots. In Ireland, as in Scotland, there was no diocesan system, and the line of succession was abbatial, not episcopal.¹

Numerous illustrations of the state of matters which existed in Scotland are to be found in the pages of Bede, and several of these have been referred to in the previous portions of this work. When we are told how, after the arrival of St. Aidan in Northumbria, the word was preached, and the sacraments were administered, how churches and monasteries were erected, and the young instructed, we may be assured that the good bishop followed the same course which he had seen practised by his countrymen. What is mentioned of Boisil, and Cuthbert, and Chad, that they went out from their monasteries, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, to teach the people, especially those who were most in need of their assistance, was, we know, the regular custom of our early missionaries. And doubtless the reverence with which they were received, the eagerness with which the people crowded round them to listen to the word of life, the multitudes who resorted on Sundays to the churches and monasteries, might also have been related of the first Pictish, as of the

¹ See the observations of Dr. Reeves, in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, and of Mr. King, in his *Memoir introductory to the early history of the Primacy of Armagh*, and the authorities quoted by these writers, *passim*.

English Christians, had a Bede been raised up to record the noble works done in those days among them.¹

A careful consideration of the ecclesiastical state of Northern Britain, during the three centuries which followed the arrival of Columba, will shew that the peculiar and irregular form of government adopted by the Celtic Church was so far excused, as it no doubt had been originally suggested, by the necessities of the case. In those troubled times, and among the wild inhabitants of the Pictish kingdom, the efforts of individual bishops or priests would, so far as we can judge, have been unavailing. The united labours of a religious community were required to accomplish the first conversion of a district, and to preserve the faith when it had been planted. And even for their temporal safety and comfort, it was requisite that the clergy and monks should be congregated in one place, not scattered throughout the country. Possessing no cathedral, and no church of any kind to which a territorial district was annexed, the monastery was to the Scottish Christians of those days the external type of unity. The abbot, not the bishop, was regarded as the ordinary ecclesiastical ruler, and, on the same principle, the superiors of the various monasteries in the land looked to the chief abbot, who sat in the chair of the Apostle of their nation, as the Head and Primate of their whole Church.

It is doubtful whether Iona had retained all its ancient privileges up to the date of the transfer of the primacy to Dunkeld. In the kingdom of the Scots it probably did so; but among the Picts the Church appears to have been reduced to vassalage by the temporal power. During the contests between the two nations, the difficulty must have been experienced, which is always felt when an inhabitant of one state exercises ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the subjects of another. The strong measures of King Nectan were perhaps the commencement of that tyranny which the Pictish sovereigns have been accused of exercising. Under it those usurpations of ecclesiastical property and jurisdiction by laymen began, which were afterwards so prevalent. Secular interference produced its usual results. There is every reason

¹ See Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cc. 3, 26, 28, lib. iv. c. 27*; Vita Cuthberti, c. ix.

to believe that before the accession of Kenneth Mac-Alpin the purity and fervour of the Celtic Church had suffered a grievous decline. Under its peculiar constitution, the degradation of the abbatial character and function must have had the same effects which afterwards were produced by worldly and corrupt appointments to the episcopate. There are some expressions in Bede, which seem to imply that in his time the authority of Iona was not what it had originally been.¹ No change had taken place when Adamnan wrote his Life of Columba; as he there states that the monasteries of the Saint were still highly honoured both among the Picts and the Scots.² This would naturally connect any alteration with the proceedings of King Nectan, which occurred in the interval between the composition of the Life of Columba, and that of the Ecclesiastical History of the English nation.

¹ In the well-known passage regarding Iona (lib. iii. c. 3), he says: "cujus monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat." So also (lib. v. c. 9): "Erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianæ transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem, primusque fundator monasterii quod in Hii insula multis diu Scottorum Pictorumque populis venerabile mansit." Does this mean that the primacy, which had lasted no little time, did not exist when the historian wrote? A similar expression, "permansit autem hujusmodi observatio paschalis apud eos tempore non pauco," is used (lib. iii. c. 4) in regard to the Scottish computation of Easter, which was already given up. There is one reading in the chapter just quoted, which, if correct, would settle the question against the conjecture which I have made—"in quibus omnibus, idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum *tenet*." But the best authorities have *teneret*.

² Referring to the ravages of the pestilence which desolated Europe in the latter part of the seventh century, Adamnan, after mentioning other countries, adds (lib. ii. c. 47), "oceani insulæ per totum, videlicet Scotia et Britannia, binis vicibus vastatæ sunt dira pestilentia: exceptis duobus populis, hoc est, Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britannicæ . . . Cui alii itaque hæc tribuitur gratia a Deo collata, nisi sancto Columbæ, cujus monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque, usque ad præsens tempus, valde sunt honorificata." This passage of Adamnan is also valuable in another respect. It shews that there was a connection between Columba and the Scots and Picts, which did not apply to the Irish, and it proves, in opposition to the opinion of some learned writers, that Iona was held to be more closely connected with Scotland than with Ireland.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DOCTRINES AND RITUAL OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH
DURING THE PRIMACY OF IONA.

Belief of the ancient Scottish Church—Reverence for the Scriptures—Celebration of the Eucharist—The daily Offices—Fasts and Festivals—Baptism—Penance—Confirmation—Marriage—Celibacy of the Clergy—Funeral rites—Prayers for the departed—Solemn Benedictions—Consecration of Churches—Ordination of the Clergy—Controversy on this subject—Ordination of Aidan, Finan, and Colman—Statements of Bede and Adamnan—Ordination given by Bishops, Mission by the Abbot and Convent of Iona.

COLUMBA and his followers believed all the articles of the Christian faith, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, and handed down in the creeds of the Church. The reverence in which they held the Sacred Volume, the attention with which they studied its pages, and the diligence and fervour with which they strove to conform their lives to its precepts, are well known. Whatever ecclesiastical rules or traditions their remote situation may have prevented them from learning, they acknowledged and practised all that the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists taught.¹ The Bible was their daily study and constant meditation, and it was their business and delight to impart its sacred treasures to all who came to them for instruction. When Aidan gently rebuked his predecessor in

¹ "In celebratione sui paschæ [Aidan] non aliud corde tenebat, venerabatur, et prædicabat, quam quod nos, id est, redemptionem generis humani, passionem, resurrectionem, ascensionem in cælos Mediatoris Dei et hominum, hominis Jesu Christi." Bede, lib. iii. c. 17. "In tempore quidem summæ festivitatis, dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positus nemo synodalia paschalis observantiæ decreta perrexerat; tantum ea quæ in prophetiis, evangelicis, et apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes." Ibid. c. 4. See also the testimony borne by Wilfrid to the faith of the Picts and Scots, in the synod held at Rome against the Monothelites in 680, *supra*, p. 103.

the Northumbrian mission, it was with direct reference to his neglect of an apostolic injunction; when Columba in his youth resided with St. Finian, it was to study the Holy Scriptures, and the last employment of his life was to copy a portion of the Psalter.¹

Columba and his disciples agreed with the rest of Western Christendom in every essential point of belief and practice regarding the sacraments and other rites of the Church. These were celebrated in their humble sanctuaries in the same language, and, for the most part, with forms similar to those which were used in Italy and Gaul. It has been conjectured that the Gallican Liturgy was brought to Northern Britain by St. Columba, but nothing certain on this point can be ascertained.² The Eucharist was celebrated every Sunday, and also on special occasions, as on the anniversaries and "birth-days" of saints.³ When a bishop was present, it was his privilege to consecrate.⁴ It would be needless to say that the consecration took place at the altar, were it not that on this, as on many other points connected with the doctrine and discipline of the Columbites, assertions of the most absurd description have been made and repeated.⁵ The Eucharistic office was chanted, but in this and the other

¹ See Bede, lib. iii. c. 5, lib. iv. c. 26; Cuminius, c. xx.; Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 1, lib. iii. c. 23.

² See the subject of the ancient Irish and Scottish Liturgies discussed by Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 368-376.

³ "Dum missarum solemnna, ex more, Dominica die celebrarentur." Cuminius, c. xviii. "Dum missarum solemnna, ex more, Dominica celebrarentur die." Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 23. "Sacra celeriter Eucharistiæ ministeria præparentur. Hodie enim natalis beati Brendeni est dies." Ibid. c. 11. "Placetne tibi Sancte! crastinum tuæ festivitatis inter plebeios, et non in tua ecclesia transigere diem? Facile tibi est talis in exordio diei a Domino impetrare, ut contrarii in secundis vertantur venti; et in tua celebremus ecclesia tui natalis missarum solemnna." Ibid. lib. ii. c. 46. ". . . Post horam diei tertiam ad Hyonæ portum pervenientes insulæ, postea manuum et pedum peracta lavatione, hora sexta ecclesiam cum fratribus intrantes sacra missarum solemnna pariter celebraremus; in die festo, inquam, natalis Sanctorum Columbæ et Baitheni." Ibid. See also Cuminius, cc. viii. xii.; Adamnan, lib. i. cc. 41, 45, lib. iii. cc. 12, 17, 23.

⁴ See Adamnan, lib. i. c. 45.

⁵ "They administered the sacred ordinance in a way totally different from the Romish ritual, not at the altar, but in a corner of the church—not with the ceremonial of the mass, but with simplicity and humility." Dr. W. L. Alexander's *Iona*, pp. 115, 116. Compare the statements of Cuminius and Adamnan: ". . . Sancti Columbæ, autè altare stantis, et sacram oblationem consecrantis."

parts of the Church service the Gregorian notes were not used ; the music was probably the old Gallican chant.¹

The doctrine of the Scottish Church in regard to the Eucharist was in accordance with the ritual by which it was celebrated. Its sacrificial character was distinctly recognised, and it was believed that after consecration the bread became the body of Christ. This much is implied in the passages which allude to the Eucharist, but in none of them is there any attempt to define the mystery.²

As in the proper liturgical service, so in the Daily Offices,

(Cuminus, c. xii.) "*Alia die Dominica a Sancto jussus Christi corpus ex more conficere, Sanctum advocat ut simul quasi duo presbyteri Dominicum panem frangerent. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens . . .*" (Adamnan, lib. i. c. 45.) "*Diebus ad me huc quadragesimalibus venies, ut in paschali solemnitate ad altarium accedas, et eucharistiam sumas.*" (Ibid. lib. ii. c. 40.) "*Dum missarum solemnia celebrarentur, Sanctus Brendenus Mocualti, sicut post Comgello et Cainnecho intimavit, quendam crinosum igneum globum et valde luminosum de vertice Sancti Columbæ ante altare stantis, et sacram oblationem consecrantis, tamdiu ardentem ad instar alicujus columnæ sursum ascendentem vidit, donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta mysteria.*" (Ibid. lib. iii. c. 17.) The origin of the assertion made by Dr. Alexander and other writers of the same school is no doubt to be found in the following statement of the *Historia Beati Reguli* (Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 464), relative to the Culdees of St. Andrews, which, as usual, is held to be conclusive proof in regard to the institutions of Iona : "*Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant.*"

¹ "*Cum inter alia cum modulatione officia illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio, in qua Sancti Martini commemoraretur nomen ; subito Sanctus ad cantores ejusdem onomatis ad locum pervenientes, 'Hodie,' ait, 'pro S. Columbano episcopo decantare debetis.'*" Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 12. As to the music of the ancient Irish and Scottish Churches, see Lanigan, vol. iv. pp. 65, 66. Speaking of the Gregorian chant with reference to "St. Patrick, Columbkil and the old doctors of their Church," he says, "they could not have adopted it, as it was either not practised in their time, or not known to them. Even in England, notwithstanding its being used by the Roman missionaries, it was confined to a small part of that country, until a late part of the seventh century (see Bede, lib. iv. c. 2), although James the deacon, about the middle of said century, had taught it at York (ibid. lib. ii. c. 20)."

² See the various expressions quoted by Innes (*History*, p. 167) : "*Sacræ Eucharistiæ mysteria ;*" "*sacrosancta mysteria ;*" "*missarum solemnia ;*" "*sacrificale mysterium ;*" "*sacræ oblationis mysteria ;*" "*sacræ Eucharistiæ mysteria consecrare ;*" "*sacram oblationem consecrantis ;*" "*Christi corpus ex more conficere ;*" "*Dominicum panem frangere.*" Innes, with less than his usual candour, argues from these expressions that the Columbite doctrine "was the same in substance with that of the Catholic Church in this present, and in all former ages ;" meaning, as he says in another passage, that it was the same with that of the Church of Rome in his own day.

while the Scottish Church agreed in principle with what was now established in the other Churches of the West, it differed in some of the forms and details. Three times a day at least, but probably oftener, the brethren of Iona assembled for the public worship of God, and the canonical offices were celebrated with the usual alternations of Prayers and Lessons, Psalms and Hymns.¹

In the division of the Christian year, the Scottish Church entirely agreed with the Latin, except in regard to the calculation of Easter. The Paschal controversy itself shews what importance was attached to that festival, and to the calendar generally, as regulated by it. The feast of Christmas is alluded to by Adamnan, but no such express reference is necessary to assure us that it and all other feasts common to the whole Church were carefully observed. Sunday was a joyful festival, and the brethren had then better fare than on ordinary days. The fast of Lent was kept with great strictness; and every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, except during the fifty days after Easter, were also kept as days of fasting. Saturday was not so observed, though such had long been the practice of the Roman Church.²

We have no particular account of the ceremonies which accompanied the celebration of Baptism among the Scots. The nature of their belief as to the efficacy of that sacrament may be gathered from Adamnan. Columba is represented as working a miracle in order to provide water for the baptism of a child; and he receives the divine command to administer the sacrament to an aged heathen who has lived a virtuous life according to the light given to him, and who is rewarded by the gift of baptism immediately before his death.³

¹ See Cuminius, cc. xxi. xxiii.; Adamnan, lib. i. c. 38, lib. iii. c. 23. Reference is there made to the "*Dominicæ noctis missa*," or "*vespertinale Dominicæ noctis officium*," of the eve of Sunday; and to the "*hymni matutinales*" of Sunday morning, to which the brethren were summoned "*media nocte pulsata personante clocca*." The passages quoted imply that there were additional services on the Sabbath as well as on the Sunday. There is a reference by Adamnan (lib. ii. c. 8) to a "*Hymnorum liber Septimanariorum Sancti Columbæ manu descriptus*." See the observations of Lanigan on the canonical hours of the Irish monks, founded chiefly on the rule of St. Columbanus. (History, vol. iv. p. 354-356.)

² Adamnan, lib. i. c. 26; lib. ii. c. 8; lib. iii. c. 12. Bede, lib. iii. cc. 5, 23.

³ Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 9; lib. iii. c. 14. See also lib. i. c. 33.

The ancient discipline in regard to Penance was observed at Iona. Those who were laden with the burden of grievous sins, after confession to a priest, either public or private, and after due satisfaction made, were absolved, and admitted to receive the Holy Communion. There is no trace of confession being enjoined as a rule, and of necessity in all cases. Something like it may at first sight seem to be implied in the narrative of St. Cuthbert's preaching in the neighbourhood of Melrose, but, on consideration, it will be seen that this account in reality shews the reverse to have been the case.¹

No record of the manner in which Confirmation was administered has come down to us. If the practice of St. Cuthbert was the same as that of St. Aidan and the disciples of Columba, this sacred rite, in the ancient Scottish Church, followed immediately after Baptism, and was conferred by the imposition of hands of the Bishop, and by anointing with the consecrated chrism.²

The reverence with which Marriage was regarded by St. Columba is shewn by his words and conduct in the case of a husband and wife in the isle of Rachlin. The woman offered to undergo any labour or fatigue, or to become a nun, if she might be allowed to live apart from her husband. "It may not be," said the Saint; "while your husband lives you are bound by the law of your husband. What God hath joined together, man cannot put asunder."³ But while recognising the holiness and indissoluble character of the estate of ma-

¹ Compare the practice of Columba (Adamnan, lib. i. cc. 17, 21, 22, 30, 41, 51; lib. ii. c. 40) with that of Cuthbert (Bede, lib. iv. c. 27), and the account of Adamnan of Coldingham (ibid. c. 25). On this question there is little real difference between Usher and Lanigan. The former admits that Confession, public and private, and priestly Absolution, were used in the Scottish Church. The latter does not assert that they were enjoined as of obligation on all Christians. (See Usher's *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, c. v.; and Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. pp. 67, 68.)

² "Dum, confluentibus ad se turbis, vir Dei verbum biduo prædicaret, ac Spiritus Sancti gratiam nuper regeneratis in Christo per manus impositionem ministraret." Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, c. xxxii. "Congregato populo de montanis, manum ponens super capita singulorum, liniens unctione consecrata quam benedixerat, verbum Dei prædicans manserat ibi duos dies." *Vita Cuthberti*. Auct. anon. lib. ii.—Bede, *Opera Hist. Minora*, p. 277.

³ Adamnan, lib. ii. c. 42.

trimony, Columba believed that the single life was one of greater perfection, and that to it not only the monks and nuns, as a matter of course, but the clergy of the higher orders also were bound. The ecclesiastical canons which prohibited marriage subsequently to ordination appear to have been adopted by the ancient Scottish Church. At a period after that which we are at present considering, a peculiar state of matters existed in Northern Britain, which will be discussed in its proper place. But there can hardly be a doubt in regard to the usage, in this respect, of St. Columba and his disciples. Some learned writers have maintained an opposite opinion; yet not one instance of a married monk or priest, in the early days of Iona, has been pointed out. Had such been the practice, some allusion to it must have occurred in the pages of Adamnan and Bede.¹

The records which remain do not supply direct information in regard to the particular Funeral Rites of the ancient Scottish Church. The bodies of the deceased were doubtless treated in every case with the reverence which Christians have always paid to them. But more than ordinary care was bestowed on the remains of those who were eminent for their sanctity. Of this the account which we have of Columba's own funeral is an instance. During three days and three nights the obsequies were performed, and when these were over, the body, wrapt in fine linen, was laid in the grave, with the holy rites and honour due to it. The manner in which this is described implies, that while the remains of Columba were interred with unusual ceremony, yet it was only by a more careful and elaborate performance of what was done in every case.² Of the reverence which continued to be paid to the relics of departed saints, various instances have already been incidentally given in the course of the previous narrative.

But our forefathers did not think it enough to inter the bodies

¹ Usher discusses this subject in the fifth chapter of his *Discourse of the Religion professed by the ancient Irish*. He attempts to show that the clergy were not bound to a single life, but his arguments are very unsatisfactory. See Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 364-367.

² See Cuminius, c. xxiii; Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 23. The expressions used deserve attention: "*honorabiles exequiæ rite expleantur*;" "*tribus illis exequiarum diebus more peractis ecclesiastico*;" "*mei soli familiares monachi mea sepulchralia complebant, et exequialia honestabant officia*."

of the dead with due honour, and to reverence the relics of the saints. They also held it to be the duty of that portion of the Church, which was still on its pilgrimage on earth, to communicate in prayer and thanksgiving with the unseen Church in Paradise.¹ They likewise believed that the saints who were with God interceded for the Church below; and, at the time when Adamnan wrote, it had even become customary to invoke their aid.²

It was the practice of the Scottish Church to hallow all estates of life, all things which were particularly dedicated to God's service, and even many of his ordinary gifts to man, with a religious consecration. The ordination of the clergy will be considered by itself. Kings were inaugurated to their high office by the laying on of hands, and by benediction, according to a peculiar ritual, set down in a book kept for the purpose.³ The members of the monastic order, both male and female, were admitted after a prescribed form.⁴ Female monastic establishments had been common in Ireland from the time of St. Bride. The establishments of Whitby and Coldingham, which were founded by the disciples of St. Aidan, have been repeatedly mentioned; Heiu, the first nun who received the habit in Northumbria, was consecrated by that bishop himself.⁵

Churches were solemnly set apart from common uses and

¹ "Cum inter alia cum modulatione officia illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio, in qua Sancti Martini commemoraretur nomen; subito Sanctus ad cantores ejusdem onomatis ad locum pervenientes, 'Hodie,' ait, pro S. Columbano episcopo decantare debetis." Tunc omnes qui incrant fratres intellexere quod Columbanus episcopus Lagenensis, carus Columbæ amicus, ad Dominum emigraverit"—Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 12. See also Cuminius, c. viii. As to the import of these prayers for the departed, see, on the one side, Usher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, c. iii.; on the other, Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 331-338.

² Speaking of his monks, immediately before his death, Columba said: "Deus confortator bonorum vobis auxiliabitur; et ego, cum Ipso manens, pro vobis interpellabo"—(Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 23). Adamnan himself invokes the assistance, and acknowledges the effect of the intercession, of Columba (lib. ii. cc. 46, 47).

³ Cuminius, c. v. Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 5. See the remarks *supra*, pp. 58, 59, on the consecration of King Aidan, and on the glass book of the Ordination of Kings.

⁴ "Eodem horæ momento, oratorium cum Sancto ingressi devote, flexis genibus votum monachile voverunt." Adamnan, lib. i. c. 32. See also Vita Cuthberti, c. vi.

⁵ Bede, lib. iv. c. 3. See Adamnan, lib. ii. cc. 5, 42.

consecrated to God. An instance of the great care and reverence of the Columbites, even in regard to the place where a church was intended to be built, is given by Bede, in his account of the foundation of Lastingham by Bishop Cedd, who had been educated at Lindisfarne.¹ There is reason to believe that the early Scottish churches, like the Irish, were generally dedicated in name of their original founders, or of other native saints. Thus the church of Lindisfarne was dedicated to St. Peter only after the Scots had left it; and when King Nectan promised to the abbot Ceolfrid to dedicate the church which he proposed to build to the Prince of the Apostles, it seems to be implied that this was something unusual among the Picts.²

While solemn consecrations were used in the case of churches, benedictions of a less formal nature were employed on other occasions. Thus Columba, immediately before his death, blessed the island of Iona and its inhabitants, the monastery, and a barn in which the corn of the monks was stored.³ In the account of these ceremonies, as elsewhere in the Lives of the Saint, there are evident traces of those symbolical forms which were the common heritage of the Universal Church. When he blessed the island and its inhabitants he turned to the East; when on solemn occasions he invoked the name of God, he made, at the same time, the "healthful sign" of the Cross.⁴

One point remains to be considered, which, more than any other, has been the subject of controversy in modern

¹ *Dicebat enim hanc esse consuetudinem eorum a quibus normam disciplinæ regularis didicerat, ut accepta nuper loca ad faciendum monasterium vel ecclesiam prius orationibus ac jejuniis Domino consecrarent.*" *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 23.* As to the subject generally, see Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 395.

² Bede, lib. iii. c. 25; lib. v. c. 21. Adamnan, addressing Columba, calls Iona "tua ecclesia;" "in tua celebremus ecclesia tui natalis missarum solemnia." (*Vita Columbæ, lib. ii. c. 46.*) "Previously to the twelfth century, or, as I might say, to the time of St. Malachy, the Irish never appear to have named churches after any but their own saints, who were, in most instances, the original founders." (*Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 194.*) This peculiar custom of the Irish and Scottish Churches is probably the origin of a statement made by Sir James Dalrymple, and often repeated since his time, that in Scotland there were no dedications of old to the Blessed Virgin, or to any saint, but only to the Holy Trinity.

³ *Cuminus, cc. 17, 19.* Adamnan, lib. iii. c. 23.

⁴ Adamnan, lib. ii. cc. 15, 28; lib. iii. c. 23. See also lib. ii. c. 36.

times—the doctrine and practice of the Scottish Church in regard to Holy Orders. So far as this is a question of ecclesiastical government, it has already been discussed. There was no diocesan episcopacy, properly speaking no episcopal rule at all. Each abbot was the head of his own monastery, and over all was the successor of St. Columba, the Primate of the Piets and Scots. No single individual had jurisdiction above his. The Bishop of Rome was no exception. The Columbites undoubtedly looked upon the Pope as superior in dignity to their primatial abbot, and acknowledged his see to be the principal Church in Christendom; but their whole history, more especially the Easter controversy, shews that in their belief he had no authority over them.

Such being their system of government, it is undoubtedly a matter of serious importance to ascertain whether they differed from the rest of Christendom in regard to Order as well as Jurisdiction; whether they not only subjected bishops to the rule of a presbyter-abbot, but also set aside the episcopate as the source of ordination. Most of the apparent difficulties which surround the subject will be avoided, if the distinction alluded to between Order and Jurisdiction be kept in mind. What is to be considered is this: did Columba and the ancient Scottish Church believe, and act on the belief, that Episcopacy was either unlawful, or unnecessary? The supposition that they held Episcopacy to be unlawful may be dismissed at once. As the Columbites were in full communion with Churches governed by bishops, and as they themselves had bishops in their own monasteries, and sent them forth to convert heathen nations, they of course looked upon the office, at the very least, as allowable in the Church of God. The single question remains; did they believe that the grace of ordination, and the right to administer the sacraments, could be conferred by the laying on of the hands of a presbyter or body of presbyters, apart from a bishop?

As it is admitted by all that previously to the time of Columba the doctrine of Episcopacy was universally established throughout the other portions of the Church in the East and West, it is certainly incumbent on those who assert that in this respect the Columbites differed from the rest of Christen-

dom to prove their case. And they have attempted to prove it, first, by referring to the authority of the Abbot of Iona over the bishops within his province, and, secondly, by contending that Aidan, Finan, and Colman, though styled bishops, had no other ordination than what they received from the presbyters of Iona. It has been already explained that the primatial authority of St. Columba's successors extended over the whole province of the Picts and Scots and all the bishops within it, not merely over the bishops of the Columbite order, or those residing in the monastery of Iona; and it has been also shewn that this, of itself, implies nothing in regard to the question of ordination. But undoubtedly, if it could be made out that the three Scottish bishops of Northumbria had only Presbyterian orders, that fact would settle the controversy.

The whole argument against Episcopacy, in connection with this point, is founded on the words of Bede relative to the mission of St. Aidan and his successors. Bede tells us that, when Oswald became King of Northumbria, he requested the elders of the Scots, among whom he had been baptized, to send a bishop to his kingdom, by whose means the English might learn the doctrines and receive the sacraments of the Gospel. After relating the conversion of the Picts by Columba, and the extensive rule possessed by his monastery and its presbyter-abbot, to which, in an unusual way, even the bishops were subject, the historian adds, that from this island and monastery Aidan was sent, when he had received the degree of the episcopate.¹ From this, nothing can be learned in regard to the persons by whom the bishop was ordained. We are simply told that Aidan was sent from

¹ "Idem ergo Oswald, mox ubi regnum suscepit, desiderans totam cui præesse cœpit gentem fidei Christianæ gratia imbui, cujus experimenta permaxima in expugnandis barbaris jam ceperat, misit ad majores natu Scottorum inter quos exsulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes, cujus doctrina ac ministerio gens quam regebat Anglorum Dominicæ fidei et dona disceret, et susciperet sacramenta. Neque aliquanto tardius, quod petiit, impetravit; accepit namque pontificem Ædanum." Bede, lib. iii. c. 3. "Ab hac ergo insula, ab horum collegio monachorum, ad provinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo missus est Ædan, accepto gradu episcopatus; quo tempore eidem monasterio Segeni abbas et presbyter præfuit." Ibid. c. 5.

Iona, after having received the degree of the episcopate; and the natural inference would be, judging from the general practice of the Church, and Bede's known opinions, that he meant it to be inferred that some of those bishops who were subject to the Abbot of Iona had been the ministers of consecration.

Another passage, however, is supposed to go farther. We are informed that on the return of the prelate who was first sent to the English, and on Aidan pointing out in the council of elders the cause of his want of success, all eyes were turned on him, all esteemed him to be worthy of the episcopate who had shewn such discretion; and therefore ordaining him, they sent him forth to preach the Gospel.¹ But nothing is really asserted here, beyond what was stated in the previous passages. Bede does not say that the elders of the Scots met in council at Iona, or that the abbot of that monastery was present; but it is reasonable to suppose that they really did assemble in Columba's monastery, and that Segenius presided. We may also believe that the synod, with one voice, pronounced Aidan the fittest for the task of converting the English, and sent him forth on his mission, after he had been raised to the episcopal order by some of the bishops who were the ministers of ordination under the direction of the abbot.

This is the only natural interpretation of the words and the meaning of Bede. Unless the episcopate had been a distinct order among the Columbites, why were there persons known among them by the name of bishops, why did they raise Aidan to the episcopal degree, and what cause was there for Bede's seeing any thing extraordinary in these bishops being subordinate to a presbyter? Had the episcopate been conferred on Aidan by any others than bishops, Bede, in mentioning the fact, would certainly have pointed out that circumstance as singular. Or, could we suppose that the historian had omitted a fact of so much significance, it is impossible that in the course of the dispute between the Scottish and Roman parties a

¹ "Quo audito, omnium qui consedebant ad ipsum ora et oculi conversi, diligenter quid diceret discutiebant, et ipsum esse dignum episcopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et inductos mitti debere decernunt, qui gratia discretionis, quæ virtutum mater est, ante omnia probatur inbutus; sicque illum ordinantes, ad prædicandum miserunt." Ibid. c. v.

difference so much more important than the calculation of Easter, or the form of the tonsure, would not have been specially noticed.

The statements of Bede regarding St. Finan and St. Colman do not in any way strengthen the theory in question. Of the former we are told, that he also was sent from the island and monastery of Iona, having received ordination from the Scots; of the latter, that he was sent by the elders of the Scots, and that after the Council of Whitby he returned to Iona, whence he had come to preach the Gospel to the English.¹ These are merely the same expressions which were used in the case of Aidan. But on the other hand, various circumstances mentioned by Bede, in connection with the Northumbrian mission, do shew very distinctly that Aidan, Finan, and Colman, looked upon themselves, and were esteemed by others, as possessing all the powers which their order has always been understood to enjoy. When a bishop was required for Mercia, Diuma, a Scot, was consecrated to that office by Finan, and was succeeded by Kellach, also a Scot, who afterwards resigned his see, and went to reside at Iona. Kellach's successor was Trumhere, an Englishman, but ordained bishop by the Scots.² Yet more distinct is the testimony to the true character of the Scottish bishops which is borne by the account of the consecration of Cedd. It is expressly mentioned that when he was ordained bishop by Finan, two other bishops were called upon to assist in the sacred rite. Thereafter the newly consecrated prelate returned to his diocese, and, with higher authority than he previously had, proceeded with his missionary labours, building churches, and ordaining presbyters and deacons to assist in the ministry

¹ Successit vero ei in episcopatum Finan, et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus, ac tempore non paucio in episcopatu permansit." Bede, lib. iii. c. 17. "Interea Aidano episcopo de hac vita sublato, Finan pro illo gradum episcopatus a Scottis ordinatus ac missus acceperat." Ibid. c. 25. "Defuncto autem Finano, qui post illum fuit, cum Colmanus in episcopatum succederet, et ipse missus a Scotia," . . . Ibid. "Tunc Colmanus: Pascha, inquit, hoc, quod agere soleo, a majoribus meis accepi, qui me huc episcopum miserunt." Ibid. "Interea Colmanus, qui de Scotia erat episcopus, relinquens Britanniam . . . primo venit ad insulam Hii, unde erat ad prædicandum verbum Anglorum genti destitutus." Ibid. lib. iv. c. 4.

² Ibid. lib. iii. c. 21.

of the word and sacraments.¹ We may farther presume from this narrative that the Scots in Britain attended to the canonical rule of having three bishops present at consecrations.

The statements of Bede are obscure on some points connected with the consecration of Aidan and his successors, just because he never supposed that there was any necessity for explaining what every one understood. And yet, what he does incidentally mention is sufficient to refute the notion which his language has been wrested to support. Were any thing wanting in this respect, the deficiency of the English historian would be fully supplied by Cuminus and Adamnan, and by the Irish annalists and biographers. The facts which they mention shew very clearly in what light Episcopacy was regarded by Columba and his contemporaries. Every page of the annalists, it may almost literally be said, refers to bishops; the letters to the Irish clergy from Canterbury and Rome are addressed to bishops; the Lives of Cuminius and Adamnan are full of notices of bishops. Columba himself studied for some time under Finian the bishop. Both Cuminius and Adamnan, in mentioning a miracle which Columba performed, recognise the distinct orders of bishops and deacons.² The legend which explains how it happened that Columba was not a bishop shews that the distinction between a bishop and a priest was well known in the ancient Church of Ireland. If it be said that there were bishops indeed among the Scots and Picts, but that they were not such bishops as we have now-a-days, nor such as then presided over the other Churches of Christendom, the fact, so far as jurisdiction goes, has already

¹ "Contigit quodam tempore eundem Cedd redire domum, ac pervenire ad ecclesiam Liudisfaronensem, propter colloquium Finani episcopi; qui ubi prosperatum ei opus evangelii comperit, fecit cum episcopum in gentem Orientalium Saxonum, vocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis. Qui accepto gradu episcopatus rediit ad provinciam, et majore auctoritate cœptum opus explens fecit per loca ecclesias, presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit, qui se in verbo fidei et ministerio baptizandi adjuvant." Ibid. c. 22.

² "Alio in tempore, cum vir venerandus in Scotia apud Sanctum Findbarrum episcopum, adhuc juvenis, sapientiam Sacre Scripturæ addiscens commaneret, quadam solenni die vinum ad sacrificale mysterium, casu aliquo, minime inveniebatur. De cujus defectu cum ministros altaris inter se conquirentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad Sacre Eucharistiæ ministeria aquam, quasi diaconus, fontanam hauriret. Ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans." Adamnan. lib. ii. c. 1. See also Cuminius, c. iv.

been explained. But if it be asserted that there was no real difference between these bishops and presbyters, the question in that case occurs, what was the nature of their episcopal office, and wherein did they differ from other orders in the Church? Unless there had been some difference, they would not have been so carefully distinguished by name. Until a satisfactory answer be given to this question, we must presume that by bishops, priests, and deacons, the Irish and Scottish Churches meant the same persons whom all other Christians called by those names.

But there is much more than presumptive evidence on the point. We have the best proof, in regard to Columba's opinion of the episcopal character, in his own actions, and in the records of his life. What Adamnan tells us of the bishop Cronan has frequently been referred to. This prelate came from Munster to visit Columba at Iona. Out of humility he concealed his episcopal character, and was thought to be only a priest, but the truth was revealed to the Saint, or otherwise became known to him. On Sunday Columba asked his guest to consecrate the Eucharist, and was himself requested by Cronan to assist, that, as two presbyters, they might join in breaking the Bread of the Lord. When the Saint drew near to the altar, he said: "Christ bless you, my brother. Do you alone, as a bishop, break the Bread according to the episcopal rite. Now we know that you are a bishop. Wherefore have you hitherto laboured to conceal yourself from us, and so hindered us from yielding the reverence which is your due?"¹

Nothing can shew more clearly than this narrative that the superiority of a bishop, as such, over a priest, was recognised by Columba. Those whose theory obliges them to get quit of the evidence some way or other have attempted to discredit the authority on which we receive it. The story, they say, is a mere legend, and unworthy of belief; and it is also in all probability an interpolation in the text of Adamnan. As to the first of these assertions, Adamnan does not say expressly that the character of the stranger was miraculously discovered, although this, no doubt, is the natural conclusion which we draw from his words. Should any be disposed on that account

¹ Adamnan, lib. i. c. 45. As to the meaning of the expression, "episcopal rite," see Reeves' Adamnan, p. 86, note.

to reject the narrative as not historically accurate, it would no less shew what the belief of the Scottish Church was within a century of Columba's decease. The charge of interpolation is brought forward without any evidence to support it. The passage is entirely in conformity with other parts of the Life, and is to be found in the Windberg, Reichenau, and British Museum manuscripts, from which the editions of Canisius, Colgan, Reeves, and Pinkerton, are respectively derived.¹

Another incident recorded by Adamnan bears more expressly on the question of ordination. He tells us that one of Columba's disciples, the presbyter Findchan, founder of the monastery of Arctichan in Ethica, brought over with him from Ireland, in the clerical habit, Aidus, surnamed the Black, of the race of the Cruithne, and a descendant of the royal line, who was to continue in pilgrimage at Ethica for some years. This Aidus was a cruel and wicked man, who had murdered among others Diernit, son of Kerboil, King of all Ireland. After Aidus had remained for some time at Ethica, Findchan, who had a great affection for him, was desirous to have him ordained a priest. For this purpose a bishop was sent for, but he refused to lay his hands upon him, unless Findchan would also, in confirmation of the act, lay his right hand on the head of Aidus. In this manner, though against the canons, he was accordingly ordained. When Columba was told what had taken place he was very angry, and pronounced this judgment on Findchan and Aidus: "That right hand which Findchan, impiously and against the law of the Church, has laid upon the head of this son of perdition, shall speedily rot, and after much agony be buried in the earth before its owner. He shall himself survive for many years; but Aidus, thus unlawfully ordained, shall return like a dog to his vomit; he shall again be guilty of cruel murder, and at last, pierced with a lance, shall fall from a tree into the water, and perish. Such an end he deserved long before, who murdered the King of Ireland." The prophecy, continues Adamnan, was fulfilled in both. Findchan lost his hand, but lived afterwards for many years. Aidus, a priest only in name, returned to his

¹ As to the doubts cast on this narrative, see Jamieson's *Ancient Culdees*, p. 54-56; and in reference to the charge of interpolation compare Jamieson's own remarks (p. 93) on Bishop Lloyd.

evil deeds, and having been pierced with a lance, fell from the prow of a ship into a lake, and was drowned.¹

Whatever opinion be entertained of Columba's prophecy, there is no good reason for rejecting the facts which are here mentioned; and if there were, there remains, as in the previous case, the undeniable belief of Adamnan in their truth. The narrative distinctly recognises the essential principle that a presbyter has no authority to ordain. Had a different rule been received among the Columbites, the abbot Findchan would assuredly not have requested another to ordain Aidus. He was the superior of the monastery, and, so far as jurisdiction was concerned, had the right to confer orders. If he could have given them validly he had every inducement to do so himself, being earnestly bent on the act, and yet having good reason to apprehend the reluctance of others to assist in a proceeding so irregular as raising a person stained with blood to the priesthood.²

Misapprehensions have long existed in relation to the whole subject which has now been discussed. Strange notions were prevalent regarding it even before the Reformation, and hence partly arose the popular opinion that, until the arrival of Palladius, the ministers of the word and sacraments in Scotland were only presbyters or monks. The extent to which the pretensions of the Roman see, and the privileges of the monastic orders, were carried, obscured in general estimation some essential portions of the discipline of the Church. Thus Fordun could relate, only as a report indeed, yet without expressing dissent, that Columba was the arch-abbot of all Ireland, and that he both confirmed and consecrated all the bishops of the kingdom.³

The remarks which have been made bear reference to the

¹ Adamnan, lib. i. c. 36. The particulars of this narrative are given, that there may be no appearance of suppressing what, in some respects, may seem strange or repulsive.

² See the remarks of Innes on this point, *History*, p. 180-183.

³ " . . . Columba, qui totius Hiberniæ describitur archiabbas, et qui in tanta præeminentia apud incolas habebatur, ut omnes sui temporis Hiberniæ episcopos confirmare et consecrare dicebatur. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 49. The Irish legend of St. Bride, and her successors, the Abbesses of Kildare, went much further; see *Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin*, p. xcvi. ci.; and Lanigan's remarks (vol. i. p. 410) on a modified form of the story, adopted by Colgan.

question of Ordination, rather than to that of Mission. A few words may be added in more particular connection with the latter. Bede tells us that Aidan was sent from the monastery of Iona to convert the English; and the same is also stated in regard to Finan and Colman. Those who gave mission to the Northumbrian prelates were the elders of the Scots; and the individual who was acknowledged to possess the principal authority in this respect was the presbyter-abbot of the monastery. That mission should be given to a bishop by one who was his inferior in order was undoubtedly irregular, but in this case it followed naturally from the manner in which jurisdiction was exercised among the Scots.

In so far as the Scottish ecclesiastical system differed from that which has been the rule of the Universal Church, it was necessarily imperfect. Yet the labours of Columba and his disciples were wonderfully blessed to the salvation of many. Within a century from the death of the Saint, the Gospel had been preached in the farthest glens and the most remote islands of Northern Britain. With us, as among the Irish, there is no appearance of persecution having been used to any great extent in opposition to Christianity, and therefore, till the arrival of the Danes, there were no martyrs among us, in the strict sense of the word. All other dangers and hardships, however, were endured by the monks, to an extent which it is now almost impossible to realize. The districts which received from Iona "the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion" are wild enough even at the present day. But at that time the difficulties of travelling among mountains and woods, and the dangers of navigation in the frail vessels with which they sailed over those stormy seas, were such as only Christian faith and zeal could have surmounted.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE TRANSLATION OF THE PRIMACY TO DUNKELD IN 849, TO ITS
TRANSLATION TO ST. ANDREWS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE TENTH
CENTURY.

Union of the Picts and Scots—Succession of the Abbots of Dunkeld—Destruction of Melrose—Succession of the Kings of the Scots—Usurpation of Grig—Reign of Constantine, son of Aodh—Translation of the Primacy to St. Andrews—Succession of the Abbots of Iona—Destruction of Coldingham.

THE union of the Picts and Scots under one sovereign has always been regarded as an important era in the history of our country, but the effects which it produced have not in general been sufficiently appreciated. No event of a merely political character has been so eminently beneficial, with the exception of the Saxon colonization of King David, and the accession of King James to the English throne. It united all Scotland north of the friths into one kingdom, which was never afterwards broken up into separate principalities. In order to realize the blessings which we have thereby enjoyed, it is only necessary to contrast the consequences which resulted from the want of such unity in Ireland.

It has been mentioned that the erection by Kenneth Mac-Alpin of the new church at Dunkeld was the probable era of the transfer of the primacy from Iona. For about half a century the Abbots of Dunkeld were the chief rulers of the Scottish Church, but the Abbots of Iona still continued to preside over the Columbite order, both in Britain and in Ireland. In that capacity the successors of St. Columba are carefully mentioned by the Irish annalists, while the Abbots of Dunkeld are only occasionally noticed. As we have no other authentic record of the latter, the primatial line cannot now be traced with the same certainty as before. Under the year 865, the

annalists mention the death of Tuathal, son of Artgusa, Abbot of Dunkeld, and chief Bishop of the Picts.¹ In the want of more specific information, we may reasonably believe that Tuathal was the first primate of the new line, and that he had held the office from the erection of the church in 849. The title by which he is mentioned, "*primus episcopus*," is undoubtedly equivalent to primate. Whether he and his successors were bishops, or, like the superiors of Iona, only presbyters, though invested with the primatial dignity, does not clearly appear. As the restriction to an abbatial succession of presbyters, which was still in force at Iona, did not apply to Dunkeld, whose abbots made no pretensions to monastic superiority over the Columbite order, the primates of Dunkeld may have been really bishops. Assuming that Tuathal governed the Scottish Church from 849 to his decease in 865, the events which took place during his primacy will now be related.

King Kenneth continued to rule the kingdom of the Picts and Scots during the first ten years of Tuathal's primacy. His active reign was spent in continual warfare. Six times he invaded the territory of the English, and in one of these inroads Melrose was burned. We have no means of knowing what led him to destroy this famous monastery, and it is doubtful whether it was ever restored as an English foundation. Kenneth's own kingdom did not escape from similar invasion. The same record which mentions the destruction of Melrose contains the first notice of another place, famous in our ecclesiastical history. Dunblane, we are there told, was burned by the Britons. The Danes also wasted the Pictish

¹ "*Connal equonimus Tamlachta, et Tuathal Mac Artgusa primus episcopus Fortren et Abbas Duin Caillen, dormierunt.*" *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 227. "Tuathal, son of Ardghus, chief Bishop of Fortrenn, and Abbot of Dun-Ceallain, died." *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 501. The *Annals of Ulster* mention this under the year 864; those of the *Four Masters* under 863. The true chronology is given in the text. Fortren or Forteviot was the residence of Kenneth, and of several of the succeeding kings, and so was put by the Irish annalists for the whole kingdom, as it had previously been for the territory of the Picts. "Pikland he [Tighernac] often calls Fortren, from the king's residence at Forteviot, or some chief town; as the *Laws of Howel Dha* term the King of England King of London." (*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 301.)

kingdom, penetrating even as far as the new metropolis of Dunkeld.¹

But tradition connects the reign of Kenneth with other circumstances than those of war. He is said to have brought from Iona the fatal stone, with which the fortunes of the Scottish race were connected, and to have placed it at his royal residence of Scone. It is also related that he compiled a code of laws for the government of his kingdom.

The first mentioned statement rests on no better authority than that of Boece ;² but if there were any evidence that the Scottish kings at this time were inaugurated at Scone, there would be nothing improbable in the story. The biographers of St. Columba, from whom we learn that the kings of the Scots were consecrated by a solemn ritual, say nothing of the stone seat. The Irish chiefs, however, were inaugurated on such stones, and there is every reason to believe that a similar custom existed, from the earliest times of their history, among the Scots of Britain. The chair was at Scone when we first hear of it in authentic records ; and Winton mentions that it was brought thither from Iona, though without specifying the date of the translation.³ The situation of Scone, between the residence of Kenneth and the new ecclesiastical metropolis, is rather favourable to the truth of the tradition.

The fact that a code of laws was enacted by the first sovereign of the united kingdom rests on earlier and better authority than the assertion of Boece, although the compilation which bears the name of Kenneth is only to be found in the pages of that historian. Both Fordun and Winton state that King Kenneth did promulgate a body of laws for the government of his people ; and the former chronicler mentions that some of

¹ "Et invasit sexies Saxoniam ; et concremavit Dunbarre atque Malros usurpata. Britanni autem concremaverunt Dulblaen. Atque Danari vastaverunt Pictaviam ad Clunan et Duncalden." *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 494. This record in the Pictish Chronicle is valuable, as shewing that the Forth continued to be the southern boundary of the Picts and Scots. The Britons referred to were of course those of Cumbria, who remained, as before, an independent nation. Since Kenneth burned Dunbar as well as Melrose when he invaded "Saxony," Lothian and the Merse must have been still in possession of the English ; although the word "usurpata" may imply that the King of the Scots claimed the territory as of right his own.

² *Historia*, lib. x. ff. 206, 207.

³ *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 58.

them were preserved in his own day.¹ Were we called upon to believe only that Kenneth did enact some laws for the government of the two nations subjected to his rule, we could have little difficulty in acquiescing in a tradition so probable in itself, and so generally received. There cannot, however, be a doubt that the collection of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, which has come down to us is spurious.²

King Kenneth died at Forteviot, sixteen years after his accession to the Pictish crown.³ The Extracts from the lost Register of St. Andrews mention⁴ that Kenneth and most of his successors were buried at Iona. If the statement be correct, as it probably is, our kings continued thus to shew their respect for the resting place of Columba, though his monastery no longer retained all its former pre-eminence.

Kenneth left a son, who, according to the Scottish law of succession, was for a time postponed; and Donald, son of Alpin, succeeded his brother as King of the Scots and Picts. Donald reigned four years, and died at his residence of Belachoir in 863.⁵

¹ Scotichronicon, lib. iv. c. 9. Winton, vol. i. p. 169.

² The Macalpine Laws are to be found in Boece (lib. x. ff. 207, 208). From him they are inserted in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. i. pp. 179, 180. In the valuable letter on Scottish Synods, prefixed to the first volume of the Concilia, Thomas Innes expresses an opinion (p. xxvii.) against the authenticity of the Laws as given by Boece. The enquiries of that learned writer had led him to this conclusion, rather than to the more favourable view he had entertained when treating of the subject in an earlier work. (See Critical Essay, p. 587.) The Laws are held to be spurious by Hailes (Historical Memorials concerning Scottish Councils—Annals, ed. 1797, vol. iii. p. 199); by Pinkerton (Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 178); and by Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. i. p. 376, and p. 439).

³ The Albanic Duan (Irish Nennius, p. 283) assigns to Kenneth a reign of thirty years from the time when he became King of the Scots. This is an evident mistake. The Pictish Chronicle gives a reign of sixteen years from the union of the two nations. With this the later chroniclers agree, and its correctness may be admitted. But there is a difficulty as to the precise date of his accession, and of his decease. The Annals of Ulster assign the latter to 857, or, making the usual allowance of a year, to 858. Pinkerton (Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 177) relying on the accuracy of the day of the week and month mentioned in the Pictish Chronicle, gives 860; while Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. i. p. 377) prefers 859. The chronology of Chalmers, which is founded on that of Innes, and differs very little from the calculations of Pinkerton, will hereafter be followed in the text.

⁴ Innes's Critical Essay, p. 801.

⁵ Chronicon Pictorum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 495. Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 283. Annals of Ulster—*Kerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p.

Tuathal was probably succeeded as Abbot of Dunkeld and Primate of the Scottish Church by Flaithbertach, son of Murcertain, who held that office till his death in 873.¹ I have been unable to find any notice of an abbot of Dunkeld from this date, till after the primacy was transferred to St. Andrews.

Constantine, son of Kenneth, became King of the Scots on the death of Donald. The name he bore—the only one not of Celtic origin which has yet been met with among our princes—carries us back to the age of Roman dominion, although, no doubt, he derived it immediately from the royal house of the Picts. He was engaged in continual conflict with the Danes, and died in 881, after a reign of eighteen years.²

Aodh, the brother and successor of Constantine, fell in battle with his own subjects, after a short reign of one year.³ There is some difficulty in regard to the next sovereigns. Eocha, son of Ku King of Cumbria, a grandson by a daughter to Kenneth Mac-Alpin, reigned along with Grig, whose descent cannot be accurately ascertained. The civil dissensions which marked the reign of Aodh had evidently interrupted the usual order of succession, and the conjecture of Pinkerton and Chalmers has every appearance of probability, that Grig seized the crown, and made use of his colleague, Eocha, merely to give a colour to his usurpation. The later chroniclers and historians have converted this Celtic usurper into Gregory the Great, a powerful sovereign, who ruled his own kingdom prudently, and extended his conquests into other parts of Britain. This legend may be dismissed without further remark. But a singular circumstance, mentioned in the Chronicle extracted from the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, and repeated by subsequent writers, deserves some

225. The situation of Belachoir is uncertain. The name occurs in the *Life of St. Cadroe* (Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 495).

¹ "Flaithbertach Mac-Murcertain Princeps Dunicaillaen obiit." *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script. vol. iv. p. 231.* See also *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 517.

² The *Albanic Duan* (Irish *Nennius*, p. 233) assigns a reign of thirty years to "the hero Constantine." The *Pictish Chronicle* (Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 495) makes it sixteen years. Pinkerton and Chalmers are agreed in holding the probable duration to have been eighteen years. It will be needless to notice particularly these variations in the chronicles, which occur very frequently.

³ *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 495. *Albanic Duan*—Irish *Nennius*, p. 283. *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script. vol. iv. p. 233.*

notice. It is stated that Grig was the first who gave freedom to the Scottish Church, which had been in bondage to that time, according to the rule and custom of the Picts.¹ This may indeed be as much without foundation, as what immediately precedes it, that King Grig subdued all Ireland and the greater part of England. Yet there are circumstances in the history of the Picts which justify the remark. It may be that the usurper, anxious to gain support for his doubtful title, restored to the Church some of the privileges of which it had been deprived; and the ecclesiastical writers may have in consequence handed down a very partial account of his reign and character. Grig and Eocha were driven from the throne in 893.²

On the expulsion of Grig, Donald, son of Constantine, the true heir, was acknowledged as king. He reigned eleven years, and died in 904.³

Donald's successor was Constantine, son of Aodh.⁴ The long reign of this king was distinguished by several remarkable events, the most important of which, if I am right in my conjecture as to its date, was the transfer of the primacy to St. Andrews. The obscurity which hangs over this change is greater even than that which attended the previous translation. Its precise date, the causes which led to it, and the circumstances with which it was connected, cannot be ascertained with any certainty. The following is the explanation suggested by my enquiries on the point.

The last entry in the Pictish Chronicle under the reign of Donald, son of Constantine, mentions the destruction of Forteviot by the Danes;⁵ and from a passage in the same record, which will immediately be referred to, we know that

¹ "Hic subjugavit sibi Ilyberniam totam et fere Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem Ecclesiæ Scoticæ, quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus, ex constitutione et more Pictorum. Innes's Critical Essay, pp. 801, 802.

² *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 784, 785. The Albanic Duan does not mention Grig or Eocha, evidently rejecting them as not in the true line of the lawful predecessors of Malcolm Canmore. The Irish annalists are also silent as to this reign.

³ *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 495. Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 283. *Annals of Ulster*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 241.

⁴ *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 495. Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 283.

⁵ "Oppidum Fother occisum est a gentibus." Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 495. Innes (*Critical Essay*, p. 785), Pinkerton (*Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 181), and

Scone was the royal residence towards the beginning of the reign of Constantine, son of Aodh. The Chronicle also states that in the third year of the reign of Constantine the Danes wasted Dunkeld; and from that time the superiors of Dunkeld appear to have been not ecclesiastics, but laymen of high rank, bearing the name of abbots, and inheriting the possessions of the monastery. We are farther told that in the sixth year of his reign Constantine the king, and Kellach the bishop, with the Scots, swore to observe the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the Churches and the Gospels; and that this took place at the hill, near the royal city of Scone, called thenceforth from that event the Hill of Belief.¹ Kellach is the first bishop residing at St. Andrews, whose name has been preserved. From the manner in which he is here spoken of, it may naturally be inferred that he was now the chief Bishop, or Primate, of the Scots; and this is confirmed by the position which St. Andrews from that time assumed in our ecclesiastical history.

The conclusion which I venture to draw from these passages is, that the commencement of the reign of Constantine, like that of Kenneth, son of Alpin, was marked by a change both in the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Northern Britain. There can hardly be a doubt that this change had taken place when the Council of Scone met, under the presidency of the king and the bishop. The difficulty is, whether it should not be referred to an earlier date. Both Fordun and Winton mention that Kellach was bishop in the reign of Grig; and Pinkerton and Chalmers concur in thinking that the statement, formerly alluded to, regarding the restoration of the Church's liberties by that sovereign, was connected in some way with the translation of the primacy to

Ritson (*Annals*, vol. ii. p. 77, 78), are of opinion that this refers to Forres; and Forres is the place actually mentioned in the corresponding part of the Extract from the Register of St. Andrews (*Critical Essay*, vol. ii. p. 802). But the "Fother" of the older Chronicle seems rather to be Forteviot; and this is the opinion of Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 384). But Innes, Pinkerton, Ritson, and Chalmers, all agree in holding that the words of the Pictish Chronicle mean that King Donald was slain at Fother. It is surely more natural to translate "occisum" as destroyed, and to make the passage refer to the place, rather than to the sovereign. This interpretation is strengthened by what is mentioned in regard to Scone under the reign of Constantine.

¹ *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 496, 497.

to St. Andrews, or with the establishment of that see.¹ Pinkerton speaks of the change as being from Iona to St. Andrews. In this he is certainly mistaken; but, in any point of view, it is not easy to see how a translation of the seat of the primacy from a Scottish to a Pictish church, or from one Pictish church to another, could be called an enfranchisement from the servitude which had before existed according to the custom of the Picts. As we find the change recognised on good authority for the first time under Constantine, it seems best to connect it with his reign. His subsequent choice of St. Andrews as a religious retreat, when he forsook the cares of royalty, shews an attachment to that place, which would be very natural if he had himself been mainly instrumental in raising it to the primatial dignity. As the establishment of the primacy at Dunkeld had been marked by the translation of the relics of St. Columba, so the change to St. Andrews was perhaps inaugurated by the solemn council at Scone, and by the oaths of the king and the bishop to defend the faith, and maintain the rights of the Church.

Some circumstances may be mentioned in connection with the history of Iona and Lindisfarne, from the middle of the ninth to the beginning of the following century.

The violent death of Indrecht, Abbot of Iona, while on his way to Rome, was related in a previous chapter. The succession of the abbots of St. Columba's monastery is no longer identified with that of the Scottish primates, but it still remains an object of interest, and deserves to be noted. Indrecht was succeeded as abbot of Iona and superior of the Columbite order by Kellach, who was also abbot of Kildare, and thus intimately connected, in various ways, both with Scotland and Ireland. Kellach died in the country of the Picts in 865. Feradach, son of Cormac, succeeded Kellach as abbot of Iona. During his rule, the shrine of Columba was again taken to Ireland to preserve it from the Danes. He died in the year 880. The next abbot was Flann, son of Malduin, whose decease took place in 891.²

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. iv. c. 17. *Winton*, vol. i. p. 175. *Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 269. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 429.

² *Annals of Ulster — Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. pp. 227, 235, 238. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 501, 523, 527, 541.

On the death of Eanbert, Eardulf became Bishop of Lindisfarne in the year 854, and held the see during the long period of forty-six years.¹ The earlier part of his episcopate was the time during which England was most desolated by the ravages of the Danes; the latter portion of it was spent in the tranquillity which Alfred secured for his kingdom. The monastic establishments which had been endowed by the piety and munificence of the Northumbrian sovereigns and nobles were numerous in the diocese of Lindisfarne. They were for the most part destroyed at this time, and several of them were never restored. Among the most famous of these monasteries was Coldingham, formerly the residence of Ebba and Etheldreda, and which, for the sins of its inmates, had been consumed by fire in the manner mentioned by Bede. It had been rebuilt after this destruction, and now, in the year 870, while under the rule of another Ebba, it is said to have been burned by the Danes.²

Lindisfarne, which had suffered on a former occasion, was still more severely visited. The year 875 witnessed one of the most savage of the Danish inroads. When Eardulf heard that the Pagans were approaching, he left the island, accompanied by his monks and many others, bearing with them the relics of St. Cuthbert, and those of St. Aidan and King Oswald. They directed their course towards the western coast, and embarked for Ireland, but were driven back by a tempest to the shores of Galloway, and remained for some time at Candida Casa. It is not mentioned whether Whithorn was still in possession of the English, or whether it had been recovered by the Britons. After various wanderings, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, when peace was restored, established his see at Chester le Street, where it remained for more than a hundred years, till it was translated to Durham.³

Although the seat of the cathedral was changed, Eardulf

¹ Florence of Worcester—Mon. Hist. Brit. pp. 551, 567. Simeon of Durham—*ibid.* pp. 675, 685. Hist. Translat. S. Cuthberti, c. iii.

² The destruction of Coldingham at this time is very probable, but the well known story of Ebba and her nuns rests on no sufficient authority.

³ See Florence of Worcester—Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 582. Simeon of Durham—*ibid.* pp. 681, 685. Hist. Translat. S. Cuthberti, cc. ii. iii. See also Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 40-49, and Archdeacon Churton's interesting narrative, in his account of the Early English Church, p. 199-201.

and his successors still continued to be styled Bishops of Lindisfarne. The immediate successor of Eardulf was Cutheard, who held the episcopate till the year 915.¹

¹ Florence of Worcester—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 567, 570. Simeon of Durham—*ibid.* p. 686. *Hist. Translat. S. Cuthberti*, cc. iii. iv.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE TRANSLATION OF THE PRIMACY TO ST. ANDREWS IN THE
BEGINNING OF THE TENTH CENTURY, TO THE ACCESSION OF KING
MALCOLM CANMORE IN 1057.

Kellach I. Bishop of St. Andrews—Council of Scone—Fothad I. Bishop of St. Andrews—King Constantine becomes a monk at St. Andrews—Malcolm I. King of the Scots—Maelbrigid I. Bishop of St. Andrews—Kellach II. Bishop of St. Andrews—Kenneth, son of Malcolm, King of the Scots—Church and Round Tower at Brechin—Acquisition of Lothian and Cumbria by Kenneth—Account of St. Cadroe—Maelbrigid II. Bishop of St. Andrews—Malmore, Bishop of St. Andrews—Malcolm II. King of the Scots—Alwin, Bishop of St. Andrews—Malduin, Bishop of St. Andrews—Duncan I. King of the Scots—Macbeth, King of the Scots—Macbeth's Pilgrimage to Rome—Succession of the Abbots of Iona.

THE establishment of the primatial see of St. Andrews was an important step towards a more perfect form of ecclesiastical government than Scotland had yet possessed. The difficulty in ascertaining the precise era of the change was mentioned in last chapter. Equally obscure are the various stages in the early history of St. Andrews itself. As formerly stated, a monastery probably existed there from the middle of the eighth century. It was presided over by an abbot, but beyond this we know nothing of its rule or constitution. Of the older Scottish monasteries, some, like Whithorn and Glasgow, were governed by a bishop; Iona had its presbyter-abbot; others, there can be no doubt, like many of the Irish houses, had for their superior either a bishop or a priest, as circumstances happened to direct the choice; while some resembled Lindisfarne, having both a bishop and an abbot, each discharging his proper functions. Of this last description was St. Andrews in the beginning of the tenth century, although there are no

means of ascertaining how long it had continued to be so. The Bishop of St. Andrews was now the Primate of the Scots and Picts, but the proper head of the monastery was its abbot, who presided over his monks, already known by the name of Culdees. The dignity of St. Andrews increased as royal privilege, and precedent, and legendary tradition, accumulated new grounds of jurisdiction. But at first it differed little from Iona, except in the single circumstance that its chief ruler was a bishop. It was a see, but not a diocese. The authority of Kellach and his successors extended over all the bishops and abbots, the clergy and people of the Scots; but it was not the rule of a metropolitan over his bishops, and, through them, over the whole province; it was the same primatial sway which had been exercised by Columba and the superiors of Iona. Yet, while in one sense the Bishops of St. Andrews had no diocese of their own, in another the whole Scottish kingdom was their diocese, and they were the only bishops who, as such, possessed jurisdiction. This is illustrated by the title which they bore for ages, and which they continued to retain after its original meaning was no longer applicable. They were called *Episcopi Scotorum*—in the Celtic language of their country *Escop Alban*—because they were the Bishops of the whole nation of the Scots.

Kellach, as formerly mentioned, had been bishop at St. Andrews from the time of Grig, but the first event which brings his primatial office into view is the Council of Scone. It has already been stated that at this council, which met in the year 909—being the sixth year of the reign of Constantine—the king, the bishop, and the nation of the Scots, swore to observe the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the Churches and the Gospels; and that from this circumstance the hill near Scone, where the council sat, received the name of the Hill of Belief.¹ We have no means of knowing with certainty what the constitution of the synod was, or what was the precise import of the oath taken by the parties present.

¹ "Ac in vi. an. Constantinus rex, et Cellachus episcopus, leges disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in Colle Credulitatis, prope regali civitate Sconan, devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, i.e. Collis Credulitatis." *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 435, 496.

If it be the true explanation that it met to inaugurate and sanction the transfer of the primacy to St. Andrews, there is no further difficulty. But if it was an ordinary synod of the Scottish Church, we may believe that, like the early councils generally both among the Saxons and the Scots, it was attended by the nobles as well as the clergy, under the joint presidency of the King and the Primate, and that its enactments had relation rather to the discipline and temporal possessions of the Church, than to the defining of articles of faith, properly so called.¹

We are not told how long Kellach lived after the Council of Scone, nor do we know at what time Fothad, the next bishop whose name is preserved, became primate. As the former had been bishop before the death of Grig, we may conjecture that his decease and the succession of Fothad took place about the middle of the reign of Constantine.

Constantine was a brave and active, as well as a religious prince, and all his energies were required to preserve his kingdom from subjugation by the Northmen. In his contests with them he was generally victorious, but he was not equally successful in his wars with England. In the year 937, a confederacy, more extensive, and seemingly better planned, than any which hitherto had been formed in Britain, was entered into between Constantine, Owen, King of Cumbria, Anlaf, the Danish King of Dublin, now married to a daughter of the Scottish sovereign, and various other British and Danish chiefs. The allies disembarked on the banks of the Humber, and were met at Brunanburgh by Athelstane, King of England. An engagement took place—the first of a series of great battles fought on English ground by the Scottish kings with like unfortunate results. The army of the confederates was

¹ In his *Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy*, Lord Hailes remarks (*Annals*, ed. 1797, vol. iii. p. 200): “Innes, and after him Wilkins, hold this to have been a provincial council. I take it to have been a joint assembly of the laity and clergy, wherein a national confession of faith was framed and promulgated, at a place near Scone, termed, from that event, *Mons Credulitatis*.” The mention of the faith and the Gospels in the *Chronicle*, and the name afterwards assigned to the place of meeting, give some countenance to this opinion of Lord Hailes; but it is more apparent than real; and, in any event, the broad statement which he makes is manifestly absurd. It was not the custom of our forefathers in the tenth century to draw up national confessions of faith.

defeated, and among the slain was the son of Constantine. The king himself and his Danish ally escaped in their ships.¹

The "hoary warrior" Constantine was now wearied with his many conflicts, and anxious for repose. He found the rest he longed for in the Culdee monastery of St. Andrews, and became himself the superior of that house, where he died in a good old age in 953.² He is the only instance of a Scottish king who resigned his crown to embrace a monastic life, and his name is commemorated in the ancient Scottish calendars.

Constantine was succeeded in 944 by Malcolm, son of Donald, and great-grandson of Kenneth Mac-Alpin. Malcolm was slain after a reign of nine years.³ The most important event of his reign was the grant of Cumberland, made in 945, by Edmund of England to the King of the Scots, on the condition of friendship and alliance, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us.⁴ Later English writers convert this into an acknowledgment of feudal homage by the Scottish sovereign. It is difficult to ascertain the real circumstances of the transaction. From the time of Egfrid of Northumbria, the country round Carlisle had been in possession of the English kings, who also acquired, as formerly mentioned, an extensive territory north of the Solway frith. When the Northumbrian kingdom was broken up by intestine commotions and the attacks of the Danes, the Britons probably recovered Galloway and English Cumberland. The latter province having again been subdued by Edmund, he secured

¹ In regard to the battle of Brunanburgh, and the events which immediately preceded it, see *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 496, and the well-known poem in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 383-386.

² "Et in senectute decrepitis [R. Constantinus] baculum cepit, et Domino servivit." *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 496. "Mortuus est autem Constantinus, in x. ejus [Maelcolaim] anno, sub corona pœnitenti, in senectute bona." *Ibid.* "Hic dimisso regno sponte, Deo in habitu religionis abbas factus Keledeorum S. Andreae 5 ann. servivit et ibi mortuus est et sepultus." *Excerpta e Registro Prioratus S. Andreae*—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 802. See also *Annals of Ulster*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 270.

³ *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 496. *Albanic Duan*—*Irish Nennius*, p. 283. *Annals of Ulster*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 271.

⁴ "This year King Eadmund ravaged all Cumberland, and granted it all to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land." *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 388.

the friendship of the Scottish king by conferring it upon him. It was separated from Scotland by Cumbria and Lothian, and, on that account, perhaps, was generally entrusted to the immediate rule of the prince next in succession to the crown. There is reason to believe that the circumstances connected with the acquisition of Cumberland by Malcolm have been mixed up, both by English and Scottish writers, with those attending the subjugation of the whole Cumbrian kingdom by his son Kenneth, under whose reign some farther remarks will be made on the subject.

Malcolm was succeeded in 953 by Indulf, son of Constantine, who reigned eight years. During Indulf's reign Edinburgh was abandoned by the English, and was occupied by the Scots, with whom it remained from that time. His successor was Duff, son of Malcolm.¹

Fothad was Bishop of St. Andrews at the accession of Indulf, and had probably held the primatial office from the decease of Kellach in the reign of Constantine. Both Fordun and Winton mention that he was driven from his see by King Indulf, about the year 954, but it is not stated why he was expelled. The name of Fothad was inscribed on the silver case of a copy of the Gospels which he caused to be made, and which remained at St. Andrews to the time of Fordun and Winton. The following were the words of the inscription:—

Hanc Evangelii thecam construxit aviti
Fothet, qui Scottis summus episcopus est.²

During the episcopate of Fothad, the Culdees of St. Serf at Lochleven, and their abbot Ronan, made over their monastery to the Bishop of St. Andrews, on condition that he would supply them with food and raiment.³

¹ *Chronicon Pictorum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 496. Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 283. "In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem." *Chronicon Pictorum*—*ibid*.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 24. Winton, vol. i. p. 179. *Historia B. Reguli*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 464.

³ Et præfati Keledei dederunt locum celluli episcopo Sancti Andree, sub tali forma quod Episcopus exhiberet eis victum et vestitum. Et ne ignoretur quis contulit Episcopo locum ibi, Ronanus monachus et abbas, vir admirandæ sanctitatis, primo concessit precario locum ibi Episcopo, scilicet Fothath filio Bren, qui nunc et tunc per totam Scotiam fuit celebris et satis commendabilis vitæ. Præfatus Episcopus dedit benedictionem suam plenarie omnibus hiis qui

No attempt appears to have been made to fill up the see of St. Andrews during the lifetime of Fothad, who survived his expulsion eight years, and died in the reign of Duff in 962. His successor was Maelbrigid, who held the primacy for eight years from 962 to 970, and died in the reign of Culen.¹

Duff, son of Malcolm, reigned from 961 to 965. Culen, son of the late King Indulf, asserted his claim to the throne, contrary to what had hitherto been the Scottish law of succession. In a battle between the rivals, in which Duff was victorious, it is mentioned that Dunchad, Abbot of Dunkeld, and Dubdou, the Maormor of Atholl, were slain. We have no good reason for supposing that Dunchad was really more an ecclesiastic than Dubdou. The abbacy of Dunkeld was now a hereditary lordship, possessed by a family of the highest rank among the Scottish nobles, the spiritual duties being probably discharged by a prior, or other substitute for the proper superior. On the death of Duff, Culen succeeded, and after a reign of five years fell in battle with the Britons in 970.²

observarent conventionem istam et amicitiam initam inter Episcopum et Keledeos ; et versa vice dedit maledictionem suam omnibus Episcopis qui infirmarent et revocarent præfatam conventionem." Registrum Episcopatus S. Andreae, p. 113. This document was copied into the St. Andrews Register, with other grants to Lochleven, from an ancient volume written in the Irish language, "veteris voluminis antiquo Scottorum idiomate conscripti." These entries are not charters conveying lands, but the memoranda of grants already given, and form the oldest authentic record remaining in Scotland relative to territorial possessions. In regard to the contracts termed "precaria," see Robertson's History of the Christian Church, vol. ii. p. 190, and Guizot's Civilization in France, Hazlitt's Translation, vol. iii. p. 26-28.

¹ Scotchchronicon, lib. vi. c. 24. Winton, vol. i. p. 179. Chronicon Pictorum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 497. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 683. The dates in the text may be ascertained with reasonable accuracy by a comparison of the statements in the different chronicles. Fothad was expelled by Indulf, and lived eight years afterwards, dying in the reign of Duff. Allowing his expulsion to have taken place in 954, or the second year of Indulf, his decease was in 962, the second year of Duff. Maelbrigid ruled for eight years, dying in the reign of Culen, and the last year of Culen's reign was 970. Compare Chronicon Pictorum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 497 ; Scotchchronicon, lib. vi. c. 24 ; and Winton, vol. i. pp. 179, 208, 209. See also note by Ruddiman, in his preface to the Diplomata Scotiae, p. 16.

² Chronicon Pictorum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 497. Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 285. Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script. vol. iv. p. 276-279.

Maelbrigid's successor in the primacy was a second Kellach, son of Ferdelaig, who ruled twenty-five years, from 970 to 995.¹ Fordun mentions that he was the first Scottish bishop who went to Rome to be confirmed.² That Kellach may have made a pilgrimage to Rome is not unlikely; but the unsupported statement of Fordun is hardly sufficient authority for the confirmation—a circumstance entirely opposed to the usual practice of the Celtic Church.

The primacy of Kellach corresponded almost precisely in point of time with the reign of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, who succeeded Culen, and governed from 970 to 994.³ The Pictish Chronicle concludes with this reign, its last entry being a notice referring to Kenneth: "This is he who gave the great city of Brechin to the Lord."⁴ This seems to imply that the church and monastery of Brechin were founded by King Kenneth. It is probable that the round tower of Brechin was erected about the same time. It is, with the exception of the tower at Abernethy, the only example to be found in Britain of that particular class of buildings so numerous in Ireland, the origin and purposes of which were, till recently, the subject of much dispute.⁵

Under the vigorous rule of Kenneth, the Scottish kingdom acquired a considerable accession of territory previously held by the English and the Britons. It is not easy to ascertain the true history of these important acquisitions. For centuries

¹ The Pictish Chronicle, under the reign of Culen, mentions (Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 497) Kellach's accession on the death of Maelbrigid. "Maelbrigid episcopus pausavit; Cellach, filius Ferdalaig, regnavit." Fordun (lib. vi. c. 24), and Winton (vol. i. p. 209) state the duration of his primacy.

² "Dehinc secundus Kellach, filius Ferdlager, qui fuit primus qui adivit Romam pro confirmatione, et post confirmationem vixit xxv. annis." Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. 24.

³ Chronicon Pictorum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 497. Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 285. Annals of Tighernac—Rerum Hibern. Script. vol. ii. p. 266. Annals of Ulster—ibid. vol. iv. p. 289.

⁴ "Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino." Chronicon Pictorum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 497.

⁵ Dr. Petrie (Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 410) intimates his intention of shewing, in the third part of his work, that there is every reason to believe that the round tower of Brechin "was erected about the year 1020, and by Irish ecclesiastics." Unless there be any written proof of this, it is more natural to connect the erection of the tower with the reign of the founder of the church.

the Forth had been the northern boundary of the English. Indulf had taken possession of Edinburgh and the country in its immediate vicinity ; and the rest of Lothian appears to have been conferred on Kenneth by Edgar, King of England, soon after the commencement of the Scottish sovereign's reign. By this gift Edgar resigned a province which it was not easy to retain, and acquired a faithful ally in his contests with the Danes of Northumbria.¹

The difficulties connected with the acquisition of Cumbria have been alluded to under the reign of Malcolm I. What farther remains to be said will now be stated. It has already been mentioned that the English Cumberland was conferred on Malcolm by Edmund, and the obscure notices of the chroniclers point to the beginning of Kenneth's reign as the time when the whole Cumbrian kingdom was annexed to that of Scotland. Its last sovereign was a prince, known in the various dialects of the Celtic tongue as Dunwallon, Dunmail, or Donald. In the beginning of his reign the southern part of his dominions had been wrested from him by Edmund, and in his old age the whole territory, from the Clyde to the Solway, which had been ruled by a line of British princes since the downfall of the Roman Empire, was subdued by the Scots. Dunwallon himself retired from Britain, and died at Rome.²

When King Kenneth subdued Cumbria, we may reasonably

¹ Modern writers differ very much in regard to the date of the acquisition of Lothian by the Scots. Palgrave (vol. i. p. 475-477) and Lappenberg (vol. ii. p. 141), relying chiefly on the authority of Wallingford (*Quindecim Scriptores*, p. 545), assign it to the reign of Kenneth, and to the grant of Edgar. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 369) holds the statement of Wallingford to be erroneous, and is of opinion that Lothian was acquired only in the reign of Malcolm, son of Kenneth. There were probably three distinct additions to the Scottish kingdom; first, Edinburgh and the neighbouring territory, by Indulf; secondly, the rest of Lothian, by Kenneth; and thirdly, the Merse and Teviotdale, by Malcolm; and this seems to be the opinion of Palgrave.

² It is generally agreed that the English Cumberland was granted to Malcolm by Edmund, and that the rest of the British kingdom was acquired by Kenneth. But it has been supposed that Cumbria and Strathclyde were two distinct kingdoms, the former of which, under its king Dunmail, was conquered by the English; and the latter, under the reign of the last British sovereign Dunwallon, by the Scots. It is much more probable that Cumbria was one kingdom, extending along the western coast, with some interruptions, from the Clyde to the Mersey, and that the same prince, Dunmail or Dunwallon, witnessed its partial

suppose that the province, now known by the name of Galloway, would be annexed to his dominions at the same time. This district, after the overthrow of the Northumbrian monarchy, had received a new name, and its people were now a mixed race of Britons, Scots, and Saxons, to whom considerable numbers of Danes were added at different times. But though Galloway became part of the Scottish kingdom, many years elapsed before its fierce inhabitants were really united to the great body of the nation.

The reign of Kenneth, so beneficial in several respects to his kingdom, had a violent conclusion. He was slain at Fettercairn, by the treachery of Fenella, daughter of the Maormor of Angus.¹

Some additional light is thrown on the obscure history of Cumbria, and on the state of Northern Britain generally, by the writer of the *Life of St. Cadroe*. This biography is also interesting on its own account, being one of the few authentic works remaining which have for their subject the life of a British Scot. It was written about the end of the tenth century, soon after the decease of the Saint. The author was probably a monk of the Benedictine monastery of St Walciodorus on the Meuse. Lanigan is of opinion that he was a German or Frenchman, named Reiman or Ousman. In Colgan's edition the name of the writer is not mentioned, while the dedication of the *Life* implies that Ousman was Abbot of Walciodorus.

Cadroe was the son of Faiteach, a noble connected with the royal house of Scotland.² He was born in the beginning of the tenth century, and was educated for some time by a pious

dismemberment and its final subjugation. See on this subject the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 945 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 388); the *Chronicle of the Princes of Wales* under the years 944 and 974 (*ibid.* pp. 847, 849); the *Annals of Ulster* and of Tighernac under the years 974 and 975 (*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 280, vol. ii. p. 259); and the *Pictish Chronicle* (*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 497). See also *Palgrave*, vol. i. pp. 442, 443, vol. ii. pp. ccxlviii. cccxxvii.; *Lappenberg*, vol. ii. p. 122; *Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. i. pp. 69, 78-81, 93, 94, vol. ii. pp. 185, 188; and *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 349, 350, 356, 389, 393.

¹ *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 289. *Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ—Innes's Critical Essay*, p. 802. *Chronicon Elegiacum—Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 332.

² *Vita B. Cadroe*, ed. Colgan, c. vi.

kinsman named Bean, and afterwards at the famous Irish school of Armagh. Returning to Britain towards the end of the reign of Constantine, son of Aodh, he imparted to his countrymen the knowledge which he had acquired, being particularly attentive to the training of those who were themselves to undertake the task of teaching others.¹ After being thus engaged for a short time, he thought that he was called upon in visions to leave his own land, and to devote himself to the monastic life in foreign parts. He was for a while prevailed upon to remain, but finally departed with the sanction and approbation of his countrymen.² Constantine himself conducted him to the borders of Cumbria, where he was kindly received by King Dunwallon—or Donald, as he was called in the language of the Gael. The British sovereign, who also was a kinsman of Cadroe, accompanied him to Leeds, at that time the frontier town between his own dominions and those of the Northumbrians,³ whence the Saint went to York, where he was welcomed by the Danish prince, Eric. From York he proceeded to London, and thence to Winchester. At that place he was entertained with equal courtesy by Edmund, King of England; and at his request, Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied him to the seaport where he was to embark for France.⁴

Cadroe landed at Boulogne, and proceeded to St. Fursey's monastery of Peronne. About this time we find him associated with a holy man from Ireland, named Maccallin, who had either been his companion during the whole journey, or had joined him on his arrival in France. They and their friends were enabled, by the assistance of a noble lady, named Hersindis, to erect some monastic buildings close to a church dedicated to St. Michael. Cadroe was requested to act as

¹ Ibid. cc. ix. xi. xii.

² Ibid. cc. xiv. xvi. xvii. It is mentioned that Cadroe on his way southwards offered up his devotions in the church of St. Bride. "*Parte itineris jam emensa, B. Brigidæ Cathroe oraturus subintraverat ædem.*" Abernethy is probably the church referred to.

³ Dovenaldus rex illi præerat plebi, et quia erat propinquus viri, cum omni gaudio occurrit, et secum aliquandiu retinens conduxit usque Loidam civitatem, quæ est confinium Normannorum atque Cumbrorum." Ibid. c. xvii.

⁴ Ibid. cc. xvii. xviii. The port where he embarked is called "Hymen." The true reading was probably "Hampton;" Southampton being apparently the place meant.

superior of the community, but he declined to accept of the office, and it was conferred upon Maccallin.¹ Soon afterwards they both joined the Benedictine order, Cadroe receiving the habit at the great monastery of Fleury on the Loire. The Scottish saint was for sometime prior of Walciodorus, under his friend Maccallin, and afterwards was abbot of that monastery. He was subsequently abbot of a monastery near Metz. He died at the age of seventy years, and was buried at Metz.²

On the decease of Kellach, a second Maelbrigid, and after him Malmore, were Primates of the Scots from 995 to 1025. The time during which each held the episcopate cannot be ascertained.³

Kenneth, son of Malcolm, was succeeded by Constantine, son of Culen, who fell in battle after a short reign of one year. The next king was Kenneth, son of Duff, who ruled from 995 to 1003.⁴

The name of the next sovereign is much better known in our history. Malcolm II., son of Kenneth, and grandson of Malcolm I., reigned for thirty years from 1003 to 1033.⁵ The

¹ Ibid, cc. xix. xx. The monastery of St. Michael was situated in the diocese of Laon, near the borders of Hainault. See Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 400, 402.

² Ibid. cc. xxi. xxii. xxv. xxxv.

³ Maelbrigid is styled Malise both by Fordun and by Winton (*Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 24, and *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 209); but, as they give the same name to the former Maelbrigid, and expressly call this bishop the second Malise, it is reasonable to suppose that Maelbrigid was the proper name of the later bishop also. According to Fordun, Malise was bishop before Malmore, but the order in the text is supported by the authority of Winton, and is approved by Ruddiman (*Preface to Diplomata*, pp. 18, 19). The duration of the episcopate of Maelbrigid and Malmore, taken together, is ascertained by comparing the number of years assigned by Fordun and Winton to the two next bishops, and the date of the decease of the latter of these, Malduin, fixed by the *Annals of Tighearnac* to 1055. This differs from the calculation of Ruddiman, adopted also by Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 430), which makes the episcopate of Malise and Malmore extend from 996 to 1031. But the distinct date in the Irish annals is the safest guide.

⁴ Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 285. *Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*.—Innes's *Critical Essay*, pp. 802, 803. *Chronicon Elegiacum*—Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 32. *Annals of Tighearnac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 267. *Annals of Ulster*—ibid. vol. iv. p. 295.

⁵ Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 285. *Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*—Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 803. *Chronicon Elegiacum*—Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 332.

traditions of various parts of Scotland, and our writers from the time of Fordun downwards, refer to numerous battles fought by Malcolm with the Danes. The ancient Scottish chronicles are silent on the subject, and Pinkerton contends¹ that there is not a shadow of authority for these wars. It is very unlikely, however, that the tradition would have been so general, had there been no foundation for it. We know that Malcolm was not always in alliance with the Danish leaders, as Pinkerton supposes; for the son of one of his great nobles, the Maormor of Mar, fought under Brian Boromh at the battle of Clontarf.² But though the accounts of the Danish wars and victories of Malcolm probably originated in the real events of his reign, even this degree of credit cannot be given to a tradition connected with them, bearing reference to the erection of the see of Mortlach. Fordun ascribes it to Malcolm II., and relates the particulars of the supposed foundation. He tells us that Malcolm, in the seventh year of his reign, desirous to shew his gratitude to God for the many mercies vouchsafed to him, founded and endowed a see at Mortlach, nigh to which place he had obtained a victory over the Northmen; and of this new diocese, which extended from the Dee to the Spey, that a holy man, Bean, was appointed first bishop, at the instance of the king, by Pope Benedict VIII.³ But no older writer than Fordun mentions this, and the whole appears to have proceeded from a mistake of that chronicler regarding the tradition of the Church of Aberdeen, and the substitution of Malcolm II. for Malcolm III. The subject will be resumed under the reign of the latter monarch.

Whatever may be the truth as to Malcolm's contests with the Danes in the northern parts of his kingdom, he obtained an important addition to his dominions in the south. It has been already mentioned that part of the English territory in Lothian had been acquired by Indulf, and another portion by Kenneth, son of the first, and father of the second, Malcolm. The Scottish kingdom was now extended as far as the Tweed, in consequence of the cession of the Merse and

¹ Enquiry, vol. ii. pp. 190, 191.

² Annals of Ulster—Collectanea de rebus Albanicis, p. 270.

³ Scotichronicon, lib. iv. c. 44.

Teviotdale to Malcolm by Eadulf Cudel, Earl of Northumbria. This took place about the year 1020. The conflicting opinions of modern writers on this point have already been referred to.¹

In the see of Lindisfarne, Cutheard was succeeded by Tilred, who died in 928. After Tilred came Wigred, who held the see till 944, Uchtred, who ruled for one year only, Sexhelm, the precise duration of whose episcopate is uncertain, Aldrid, who died in 968, and Elfsig, who was bishop for twenty-two years, and died in 990. Aldwin, the successor of Elfsig, governed the diocese till his death in 1018. During his episcopate, the see was removed from Chester-le-Street to Durham. The next bishop was Edmund, who ruled till 1048.² It is needless in this work to trace the succession of the see of Durham. The whole of Bernicia, beyond the Tweed, was now united to the Scottish kingdom, and the transfer of the temporal dominion was followed by a corresponding change in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The precise date of this alteration cannot be ascertained, nor is it likely to have been declared by any one definite act, or accomplished at one particular time. The authority of the Bishops of St. Andrews was gradually extended, till at last their primatial sway became co-extensive with the dominions of the Kings of the Scots. Perhaps the substitution of the new title of Durham for the venerated name of Lindisfarne contributed to this, since the tradition which connected the see with the memory of St. Aidan was then broken. As time went on, the inhabitants of Lothian learned to identify themselves with the northern kingdom to which they were now united, rather than with the English nation with which they were for the most part one in race.

Malcolm II. long enjoyed the reputation of being a great legislator as well as conqueror. The laws ascribed to him are those known by the name of *Leges Malcolmi*, or the *Laws of King Malcolm Mac-Kenneth*. In the introduction to that collection he is styled "the most victorious King of all the

¹ Simeon of Durham—*Decem Scriptorum*, p. 81. See also Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 369, and Palgrave, vol. ii. p. cccxxxi.

² Florence of Worcester—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 570, 573, 574, 577, 580, 582, 595, 602. *Hist. Translat. S. Cuthberti*, c. iv. See also *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. pp. 700, 701.

nations of England, Wales, Ireland, and Norway;" and the first enactment is the gift of the whole lands of the kingdom to his vassals, with the exception of the Moothill at Scone, and the grant in return by the barons to their lord the King of the feudal services of ward and relief. It is useless to discuss the question of the authenticity of these laws. Their spuriousness is now universally admitted. They are of a much later age than that of Malcolm II., or even of Malcolm III., to whom also they have been ascribed.¹

Malcolm II. died at Glamis in 1033.²

Alwin succeeded Malmore as Bishop of St. Andrews in 1025, and was himself succeeded by Malduin, son of Gillaodran, in 1028. The latter was primate for twenty-seven years, and died in 1055.³ Malduin bestowed on the Culdees of Lochleven the church of Markinch in Fife, with the land belonging to it.⁴

Malcolm II. had no son. His daughter Bethoc was married to Crinan, the lay-abbot of Dunkeld, and her son, Duncan, succeeded his grandfather as King of the Scots. After a reign of six years, Duncan was killed by Macbeth at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, in 1039.⁵

Macbeth succeeded the king whom he had slain. The true history of this usurper has been laboriously investigated by our later antiquaries. He was probably the Maormor of

¹ See Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 191; Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 403, 404; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. preface, p. 45; and particularly, Lord Hailes' Inquiry into the authenticity of these Laws—Annals, vol. iii. p. 324-336.

² Annals of Tighernac—Rerum Hibern. Script. vol. ii. p. 284. Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 803. Chronicon Elegiacum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 332.

³ Fordun (lib. vi. c. 24) and Winton (vol. i. p. 251) agree in assigning a duration of three years to the episcopate of Alwin. The former writer does not mention the length of Malduin's primacy, but the latter specifies twenty-seven years. The precise date of this bishop's decease is ascertained from the Annals of Tighernac to be 1055, under which year it is stated (Rerum Hibern. Script. vol. ii. p. 300) that "Malduin, son of Gillaodran, Bishop of Alban, the giver of orders to the clergy, died in Christ." This date, as already mentioned, is the safest guide in regard to the chronology of the episcopal succession. See also Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 869.

⁴ Registrum Prioratus S. Andreæ, p. 116.

⁵ Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 285. Annals of Tighernac—Rerum Hibern. Script. vol. ii. p. 288. Annals of Ulster—ibid. vol. iv. p. 326. Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 803. Chronicon Elegiacum—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. pp. 332, 333.

Ross, and was also ruler of Murray, in right of Lulach, son of his wife Gruoch, whose first husband, Gillcomgain, had been Maormor of that extensive province. Gruoch was the daughter of Boidhe, son of Kenneth, the immediate predecessor of Malcolm II., and, according to the old Scottish law of succession, her son Lulach had perhaps as good a right to the crown as Duncan, son of Bethoc. These circumstances so far explain Macbeth's usurpation.

The good government of Macbeth is attested by almost all the chroniclers. He also distinguished himself by his munificence to the Church. His name, and that of his wife, appear among the benefactors of Lochleven, on which he bestowed the lands of Kirkness and Bolgy.¹ He made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1050, and was very liberal in alms to the poor. No other Scottish sovereign ever visited that city.²

The prudent government and munificence of Macbeth did not conciliate the general affection of his people. The adherents of Duncan's family made repeated attempts to expel the usurper, and to restore Malcolm, the eldest son of the late king, who had fled for refuge to England—probably to his kinsman, Siward, Earl of Northumbria. In the year 1045, Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, endeavoured to regain the throne for his grandson, but fell in battle with Macbeth. Malcolm himself was afterwards more successful. Supported by an English army led by Siward, he entered Scotland in 1054. Macbeth was defeated, and retired to the North. In 1056 another engagement took place at Lumphanan, in Mar, where Macbeth was slain. His stepson Lulach was killed the fol-

¹ Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ, pp. 12, 114.

² The journey of Macbeth to Rome has been the subject of much discussion. Marianus Scotus, who lived at the time, says (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 604), "*Rex Scotiæ Machetad Romæ argentum seminando pauperibus distribuit.*" This statement is repeated by Florence of Worcester and other English writers, and by Fordun and Winton. The plain meaning is that Macbeth gave his alms in person. Yet Lord Hailes (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 4), quoting Florence, who does not insert the word "*pauperibus*," ridicules the idea of such a journey, and says that the chronicle only insinuates that Macbeth bribed the court of Rome. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 408, 409), while refusing to adopt this absurd interpretation of Lord Hailes, agrees with him in thinking that Macbeth did not go to Rome. The natural sense of the authorities is supported by Pinkerton (*Enquiry*, vol. ii. pp. 198, 199), Macpherson (*Winton*, vol. ii. pp. 468, 469), Ritson (*Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 116, 117), and Mr. Herbert (*Irish Nennius*, p. lxxxvii.).

lowing year at Essie, in Strathbogie, and Malcolm, surnamed Canmore, was acknowledged as King of the Scots.¹

The present chapter may be concluded with the names of the successors of St. Columba, during the tenth, and the first half of the eleventh century.

Flann, son of Malduin, died, as formerly mentioned, in 891. The Irish annals record the decease of Maelbrigid, son of Tor-man, the successor of St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Adamnan, in 927. Lanigan contends that, as this prelate was archbishop of Armagh, he could not, in consequence of the well-known rule of the Columbite order, be superior of Iona, and supposes that he is called successor of Columba as having been abbot of Derry. This reasoning does not appear to be satisfactory. The Annals of Innisfallen expressly call Maelbrigid abbot of Armagh and abbot of Iona, and it is probable that many of the persons dignified with the name of archbishops of Armagh were simple presbyters, who, as abbots of that Church, exercised primatial rule in Ireland. The next abbots of Iona were Dubtach, who died in 938, Robhartaich, who died in 954, and Duibduin, who died in 959.²

In the year 964 is recorded the decease of Duibscuile, son of Kenneth, the successor of Columba; and in 980 that of Mugron, the successor of Columba in Erin and Albany.³ The next

¹ Albanic Duan—Irish Nennius, p. 285. Annals of Tighernac—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 292, 301. Annals of Ulster—*ibid.* pp. 337, 338. *Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 803. *Chronicon Elegiacum*—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 333. See also, as to the reign of Macbeth generally, Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 197-202; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 406-416; Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 116-119; and note by Mr. Herbert, in the Irish Nennius, p. lxxviii.-xc. These writers differ in several important particulars, and the opinions of Mr. Skene and Mr. Herbert are mainly founded on the narratives in the Norse Sagas. But there appears to be no good reason for rejecting the concurring testimony of the Scottish chroniclers, which is not contradicted in any essential point by the Irish and English annalists. From these last sources the narrative of Chalmers has been derived; and it has been followed in the text.

² In regard to Maelbrigid, Dubtach, and Duibduin, see the notices in the Annals of Ulster and of Innisfallen—*Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, pp. 262, 264, and in the Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. pp. 617, 635, 669, 677, 679, compared with Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 341-344, and p. 381-383. See also Reeves' Adamnan, additional notes, p. 392-394.

³ Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 276, 282. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 709.

abbot appears to have been Maelciarain. Soon after the death of Mugron, the Annals of Clonmacnois and the Four Masters mention that Anlaf, son of Sitric, the Danish king of Dublin, went on pilgrimage to Iona, and died there, after penance and a good life. Dr. O'Donovan says that this is the first recorded instance of a Danish chief who was a Christian. It is nevertheless related by these annalists that in 986 Maelciarain, successor of Columba, was martyred by the Danes of Dublin; and, under the same year, in the Annals of the Four Masters, that Iona was ravaged by the Danes on Christmas eve, and that the abbot and fifteen of the elders of the Church were slain. It is probable that, notwithstanding the conversion of Anlaf, his subjects continued to be idolaters, and that Maelciarain was the only abbot who was slain in 986, the same event being, by mistake, twice inserted in the Annals of the Four Masters.¹

Maelciarain was succeeded by Dunchad, on whose decease in 989, Dubdalethe, Abbot of Armagh, was chosen superior of the Columbites, by consent of the order both in Ireland and Scotland. Dubdalethe held the office till his death in 996.²

The next superior of the Columbite order was Maelbrigid, who died in 1005. His successor was Muredach, son of Crican, who resigned his office in 1007, and died in 1011. The next abbot was Flanobra, whose decease took place in 1025. His successors were Malmore, from 1025 to 1040, and Robhartach, from 1040 to 1057.³

¹ See Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. pp. 711, 712, 713, 719; and Annals of Clonmacnois, quoted in Dr. O'Donovan's notes, *ibid.*

² Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 286, 290, and note to the Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 723. Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. pp. 723, 725, 739, and Annals of Clonmacnois, quoted note, *ibid.* p. 738.

³ See Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. pp. 295, 297, 299, 315, 326, 337; and Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. pp. 753, 759, 763, 809, 837, 873.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING MALCOLM CANMORE IN 1057, TO THE
DEATH OF ST. MARGARET IN 1093.

Tuathal Bishop of St. Andrews—Fothad II. Bishop of St. Andrews—Coronation of Malcolm Canmore—His marriage with Margaret of England—Turgot's Life of St. Margaret—Foundation of Dunfermline—Character of Margaret—Foundation of Mortlach—Succession of the Abbots of Iona—Reformation in the Scottish Church—Changes in the population and institutions of Scotland—Death of Malcolm—Illness and death of Margaret.

MALDUIN was succeeded in the see of St. Andrews by Tuathal, who held the primacy four years. This prelate bestowed the church of Scoonie on the Culdees of Lochleven. His successor was a second Fothad, who was bishop for thirty-four years, and died in 1093. By him the church of Auchterderran was given to the monks of Lochleven.¹

King Malcolm Canmore was enthroned in the ancestral chair, and crowned at Scone, on the feast of St. Mark, 1057.² There is reason to believe that in the beginning of his reign

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 24. *Winton*, vol. i. pp. 251, 269. *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 356. "Modach filius Malmykel, vir piissimæ recordationis, episcopus Sancti Andree, cajuus vita et doctrina tota regio Scotorum feliciter est illustrata, contulit Deo et Sancto Servano, et Keledeis heremitis apud insulam Lochleven, in schola virtutum ibidem degentibus, devote et honorifice, cum præfatis libertatibus, ecclesiam de Harkenedorath." (*Regist. Priorat. S. Andree*, p. 117.) Modach is evidently a mistake in the Register for Fothad. The correct name is given by Fordun and Winton, and also in the *Ulster Annals*, where he is styled "Fothadh Ardepscop Albain." The dates in the text are ascertained by comparing Fordun and the Irish annals. Malduin died in 1055, and Fothad in 1093. The intervening primacy of Tuathal lasted for four years.

² "Prostratis ubique cunctis hostibus, vel ad suam deductis pacem, idem sæpe dictus Malcolmus apud Sconam, præsentibus regni majoribus, in throno regali positus est, et in omnium Scotorum gloriam et honorem, eodem Aprili mense, die Sancti Marci, coronatus." *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 9. See also *Winton*, vol. i. p. 253; *Hailes' Annals*, vol. i. p. 4; and *Preface to the first volume of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, p. 46.

he was married to a Norwegian lady, named Ingibiorg, either the widow of Thorfin, Earl of Orkney, or another of the same name, by whom he had a son, Duncan, afterwards King of the Scots. This marriage was soon dissolved by the death of Ingibiorg.¹

So long as Edward the Confessor reigned, there was peace for the most part between England and Scotland. A great change in the relative circumstances of the two kingdoms was wrought by the Norman Conquest. Some time after that event, Edgar Atheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, and the heir of the Saxon line, fled to Scotland with his mother Agatha, and his sisters Margaret and Christina, and was hospitably welcomed by the king. The princess Margaret became the wife of Malcolm.

This union was the commencement of a new era in our history. We fortunately possess a full and authentic biography of Margaret, written by her confessor, Turgot, for some time Prior of Durham, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews. It was dedicated to Margaret's daughter, Matilda, Queen of England. Living at the time, and intimately acquainted with the persons and events described in his narrative, Turgot possessed every facility for obtaining accurate information, and his learning and love of truth enabled him to make the best use of his materials. If, on any point, his statements require to be received with caution, it is in regard to the condition of the Scottish Church previously to the reform in the reign of Malcolm Canmore. His prejudices as an Englishman, and as a member of the Benedictine order—even his affection

¹ "Ingibiorg, the mother of the earls and widow of Earl Thorfin, married Malkolf, King of Scotland, who was called Langhals. Their son was Dungal, King of Scotland, the father of William who was a good man. His son was William the Noble, whom all the Scots wished to take for their king." *Orkneyinga Saga—Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 346. See also Torfæus, *Rerum Orcadensium Historia*, pp. 65, 66. The marriage of Malcolm with Ingibiorg is doubted by Hailes (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 52). Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 422) is also of opinion that Malcolm could not have been married to the widow of Thorfin, although he thinks that he may have been united to another lady of the same name, who became the mother of Duncan. Macpherson (*Winton*, vol. ii. pp. 472, 473) is inclined to admit the statement of the Saga, and accounts for Duncan being called a bastard, from the circumstance that Thorfin was a grandson of Malcolm II., and that Ingibiorg's marriage with Canmore was thus within the degrees of propinquity forbidden by the canon law.

for his royal mistress—inclined him to view the peculiar institutions and usages of the Celtic Church more unfavourably than the facts altogether warranted. Papebroch, the Bollandist editor of the Life of St. Margaret, was of opinion that it was not written by Turgot, but by Theodoric, a monk of Durham of whom nothing is elsewhere recorded, whose name it bore in the dedication to Queen Matilda in the manuscript which he used. But the Life is quoted by Fordun and other early writers as the work of Turgot, and there is no just reason to question the correctness of their opinion.

The marriage of Malcolm and Margaret was celebrated at the royal residence of Dunfermline by Fothad, Bishop of St. Andrews, and, in commemoration of the event, a church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was founded by the queen.¹ The marriage was pre-eminently happy in itself, and was attended with the happiest consequences for Scotland. This was chiefly owing to the union of saintly piety with all the domestic virtues which adorned the character of the queen; but even these could not have led to such results, if the rough nature of her husband had not possessed the elements of true nobility and worth.

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole life of Margaret was devoted to works of piety and charity. We have a particular account of the manner in which she

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. cc. 16, 17, 18. *Winton*, vol. i. p. 269. *Vitæ Antiquæ*—*Vita Margaretæ*, c. i. 7. There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the precise circumstances connected with the marriage; see Papebroch's *Prolegomena*—*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 316-318; and Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 8-10. On a comparison of the different authorities, our best modern writers are agreed that it took place in the year 1070. This is the opinion of Father Papebroch (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 333), Lord Hailes (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 10), Macpherson (*Winton*, vol. ii. p. 472), Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 422), and Mr. Cosmo Innes (*Preface to the Chartulary of Dunfermline*, p. ix., and *Preface to the Chartulary of Aberdeen*, pp. xvii., xviii.). Turgot tells us that the church was erected at the place where the marriage was celebrated. He does not name the place, but there can be no doubt that it was Dunfermline. Whether a Benedictine monastery was founded at the same time does not appear. If such was the case, it was the first introduction of a foreign monastic order into Scotland. But as we are told by Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 48) that David, son of Malcolm, brought monks from Canterbury to Dunfermline, it is probable that the monastery was previously occupied by Scottish monks. The pretended foundation charter of Canmore is rejected, or at least viewed with the utmost suspicion, by the ablest antiquaries; see *Preface to the Chartulary of Dunfermline*, pp. xx. xxi.

kept the two Lents observed by her each year—the season properly so called, and Advent, or, rather, the full period of forty days before Christmas. Her devotions and abstinence were not so strict at other seasons, but her life was always one of severe self-denial. These austerities were carried to excess, since we are informed that her health was permanently injured by them.¹

Besides her regular daily alms and deeds of mercy, Margaret was always bountiful to those who were in need. Wherever she went, multitudes of the poor crowded round her, and on no occasion went away unrelieved. When she had exhausted what she had of her own, she borrowed of her wealthy attendants, who did not grudge their assistance, well knowing that she would pay them with twice as much again. Whatever belonged to the king she bestowed freely, and this with his entire approbation and good will. Sometimes she would abstract the gold pieces which he kept for offering on Maundy Thursday and at mass, and give them to those who were most in want, and he would seize her hand with the money in it, and playfully accuse her of the theft.²

In all, indeed, which she did, Margaret found, on her husband's part, a ready consent, in many things a willing assistance. From her he learned to pass the night in fasting and prayer, and to exercise himself in works of mercy. "Often," says Turgot, "have I admired the wonderful goodness of God, when I have seen such fervour of devotion in a king, so much religious compunction in one who lived in the world." In all things the king and queen were of one mind. What she loved he loved; from what she rejected he also turned away. He could not himself read, but he frequently took up and examined her books of study and devotion. When he knew that any one of them was a favourite of hers, he would kiss it, and look at it the oftener. Sometimes he would take them away, and after having them adorned with gold and jewels he would return them to her again.³

The household of Margaret was carefully ordered. The ladies who waited upon her were occupied in making altar

¹ Vita Margarete, c. iii. 21, 22, 23.

² Ibid. c. iii. 18.

³ Ibid. c. ii. 10, 11.

cloths, priestly vestments, and other ecclesiastical ornaments. No unseemly behaviour was seen among them ; for the queen was both beloved and feared. In her presence not only was no wrong act done ; no one even dared to utter an unbecoming word.¹

She was particularly attentive to the education of her children, causing them to be rebuked and punished whenever they did amiss. And she was rewarded for her care by their good conduct ; for they were ever affectionate and kind to one another, the younger yielding that honour to the elder which was their due. She often had them brought into her own presence, and taught them the Christian faith as far as their tender years would allow. "O my children," she would say, "fear the Lord, for they who fear Him, shall want no manner of thing that is good. And if you love Him, He will give you prosperity in the life which now is, and eternal happiness with all his saints in that which is to come."²

No wonder that a life thus spent called forth the deepest reverence in those who witnessed it. "Let others," says her confessor and biographer, "admire the miracles which some have wrought ; much rather will I admire in Margaret her works of mercy. For signs are common to the good and the evil, but works of true piety and charity belong only to the good. Signs sometimes indicate holiness, but in good works holiness consists. And more fitly will we admire in Margaret the works which made her holy, than miracles, even if she had wrought them, which would only indicate her holiness to others."³

Margaret and her husband were munificent in their benefactions to the Church. The foundation of Dunfermline has been mentioned. There the queen offered many precious gifts for the service of God. Similar donations were made at other places, especially at the primatial church of St. Andrews, where also buildings were erected and accommodations provided for the use of the many pilgrims who resorted thither.⁴ Following the example of their predecessors, King Malcolm and

¹ Ibid. c. i. 7, 8.

² Ibid. c. i. 9.

³ Ibid. c. iii. 24.

⁴ Ibid. c. i. 7 ; c. iii. 20.

his queen likewise added to the possessions of the Culdees of Lochleven.¹

The tradition which ascribes the foundation of Mortlach to Malcolm II., and the express testimony of Fordun to the same effect, were alluded to in last chapter. But there can hardly be a doubt that the real founder was Malcolm III., and that the erection took place before his marriage with Margaret. Of this there seems to be sufficient evidence in an ancient record, preserved in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, which tells us that Malcolm erected the see of Mortlach in the sixth year of his reign.² The earliest tradition of the Church of Aberdeen bears that Bean, Donercius, and Cormac, were the first three bishops. Bean governed the Church of Mortlach during the reign of Malcolm. It would be interesting to ascertain the precise character of the new erection, but no certain information can be obtained. Mortlach was a well-endowed monastery, ruled by a bishop residing within its walls; but there is no sufficient authority for holding that any proper diocese was attached to its jurisdiction.³

Margaret also shewed her reverence for the memory of St. Columba by repairing the buildings of the monastery of Iona, which had fallen into decay.⁴ Gilchrist, the successor of Robhartach as abbot of Iona, died in 1062. The next abbot, whose name is not mentioned, but who is called the grandson of Baetein, was killed in 1070; and Dunchad, by whom he

¹ Regist. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 115.

² "Anno Domini millesimo septuagesimo, Malcolmus Rex Scotorum, filius Kenachi, duxit in uxorem beatam Margaretam reginam. Et anno regni sui sexto fundata est sedes episcopalis apud Mortlach, ut habetur in primo folio primi quaterni. Et processu temporis translata est sedes episcopalis apud Aberdon, per David filium suum regem Scotiæ, et dotata ut habetur in eodem folio." Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, preface, p. xvii. Malcolm is called here by mistake the son of Kenneth, but the rest of the memorandum clearly shews that Canmore, not Malcolm II., is meant.

³ See Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon. vol. ii. pp. 125, 246; see also Preface to the same Chartulary, p. xi.-xviii., where will be found a careful examination of the question connected with the authenticity of the pretended foundation charter of Malcolm II.

⁴ "Huense cœnobium, quod servus Christi Columba, tempore Brudei regis Pictorum filii Meilocon, construxerat, sed tempestate præliorum cum longa vetustate dirutum fuerat, fidelis regina reedificavit, datisque sumptibus idoneis ad opus Domini, monachis reparavit." Ordericus Vitalis, ed. Duchesne—*Historia Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, pp. 701, 702.

was succeeded, died in 1099.¹ From this date there are no sufficient means of tracing the succession of the abbots of Iona. They had now ceased for some time to be the superiors of the Columbite houses in Ireland, that dignity being generally held by the abbots of Kells or of Derry.

It was not only, however, in ecclesiastical foundations and other gifts that Margaret shewed her zeal for religion. She strove to reform various corrupt practices which, during the course of years, had been increasing in the Scottish Church; and there can be little doubt that she was assisted in this work by English ecclesiastics, sent, at her request, by Archbishop Lanfranc.² Her biographer gives a particular account of her labours. There is no room for questioning the correctness of the chief circumstances mentioned in his narrative, but it is probable, as formerly intimated, that he has exaggerated the corruption and defects of the now worn-out and falling system of St. Columba.

Several councils or conferences were held, at which Margaret tried to induce the Scottish ecclesiastics to reject the erroneous traditions of their forefathers. On these occasions King Malcolm, who spoke the Gaelic and the English tongue with equal facility, acted as interpreter between his queen and the clergy. Margaret began by pointing out that they who agreed with the Catholic Church in worshipping one God, in the one faith, should not differ in regard to certain new and strange practices. First of all, she explained that they did not keep Lent aright, inasmuch as they began the fast, not with the rest of the Church on Ash Wednesday, but on the Monday after the following Sunday. The Scottish clergy pleaded the example of Christ, as related in the Gospels, for their six weeks' fast. The queen said that they were in error as to this; for when the six Sundays were deducted, their fast lasted only thirty-six days, and so an addition of four days was necessary to make up the full number of forty, which was observed by the whole Church. Convinced by her argu-

¹ *Annals of Tighernac*—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. ii. p. 304. *Annals of Ulster*—*ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 341, 342, 361. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. ii. pp. 881, 897, 961.

² See Letter from Lanfranc to the Queen of the Scots, translated from the original in the *Scalaonica*, pp. 222, 223, in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. i. p. 120.

ments, they gave up the supposed erroneous usage. Both Margaret and the Scottish clergy were ignorant that the practice, thus condemned, was at one time the recognised rule, and that it was still kept up in the metropolitan Church of Milan.¹

The Scottish custom in regard to Lent might thus have been easily defended, had its advocates been better instructed; but there were other grounds of complaint, of a more serious nature. It was, we are informed, the practice in Scotland not to partake of the sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood on Easter-day. The excuse was indicative of the ignorance and superstition which were prevalent. "The Apostle," they said, "tells us; 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself.' And, as we feel that we are sinners, we are afraid to come to that sacrament, lest we eat and drink our own damnation." "What then," said the queen; "shall all who are sinners refuse to partake of that holy mystery? No one in that case should receive it; for no one is free from the stain of sin, not even the infant who has lived but a single day on earth. But if no one is to receive it, whence that voice of our Lord in the Gospel, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' But the saying of the Apostle, which you refer to, must be interpreted otherwise, according to the mind of the fathers; for he does not esteem all sinners unworthy to partake of the sacraments of salvation. For when he said, 'He eateth and drinketh damnation to himself,' he added, 'not discerning the Lord's Body;' that is, not distinguishing in faith between it and ordinary food. So he who, without confession and repentance, and stained with sin, presumes to approach the holy mysteries, he, I say, eateth and drinketh to himself damnation. But we, who many days before having confessed our sins, are chastised with penance, worn with fasting, and washed in alms-deeds and tears from the pollution of our guilt, on the day of our Lord's resurrection approaching his table in the Catholic faith, partake of the flesh

¹ Vita Margaretæ, c. ii. 13, 14. See note by Papebroch, *Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 340; and Hailes, vol. i. p. 43. As late probably as the tenth century, the Church of Ireland observed the Saturday before Quadragesima Sunday as the *caput jejunii*, or first day in Lent. See Lanigan, vol. i. p. 251.

and blood of the immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ, not to condemnation, but to the remission of our sins, and to the life-giving preparation for the enjoyment of everlasting happiness." When she had thus spoken, they had nothing to answer, and afterwards they observed the rules of the Church in the partaking of this holy mystery.¹

Another abuse connected with the Eucharist existed in some parts of Scotland. Mass was celebrated according to a barbarous ritual unknown to the rest of the Church. This was checked so effectually by the persuasion of the queen, that no one again presumed to offend that way.²

The Sunday was also neglected, and the people worked on it as on other days. The queen rebuked their error. "Let the Lord's day," she said, "be revered, for on it the Lord rose from the dead; and let us do no manner of servile work on that day on which we were redeemed from the slavery of the devil. And thus the blessed Pope Gregory affirms, saying, on the Lord's day we must cease from earthly labour,

¹ *Vita Margaretæ*, c. ii. 15. There is a difficulty in regard to this narrative. Taken in its plain meaning, it applies only to the feast of Easter, but it is not easy to see how the same reasoning would not have prevented the Scots from receiving the Eucharist at all times. So accordingly it is understood by Lord Hailes; or rather he goes farther, and says (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 45), not simply that they did not receive the Eucharist, but that "the clergy of Scotland had ceased to celebrate the Communion of the Lord's Supper." This last supposition is unsupported by the narrative, and is inconsistent with the reference to the Mass, which immediately follows. It could not have been offered with barbarous forms, if there had been no celebration at all. Hailes probably wrote in ignorance or forgetfulness of the distinction between the sacrifice and the communion in the Eucharist. A charitable interpretation of the whole account is probably most in accordance with truth. There may have been a superstitious fear of partaking of the Eucharist on Easter-day, or even a wide-spread abuse which made its reception at other times unfrequent; but it cannot have been that the sacrament was never received at all in any part of Scotland. Turgot does not say so; and if he did, we could hardly bring ourselves to believe, on his single authority, that the whole Scottish Church had thus become absolutely lifeless.

² *Præterea in aliquibus locis Scottorum quidam fuerunt, qui contra totius Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, nescio quo ritu barbaro, Missas celebrare consueverant.*" *Ibid.* 16. It is not stated in what this abuse consisted. Papebroch supposes (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 341) that it was connected with the fairs which among several of the northern nations were called *Missæ*. Hailes (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 46) says, with good reason, that this is idle conjecture. It may easily be believed that in the remote parts of a country, so secluded from the rest of Christendom, many ceremonies had crept in, unknown to other Churches, and in themselves erroneous or unbecoming.

and give ourselves unto prayer, that so what we have done amiss during six days may be expiated by our prayers on the day of the Lord's resurrection." Won by her arguments, the Scots, we are told, from that time held the Sunday in such respect, that no one dared to carry, or ask another to carry a burden upon it.¹

The queen likewise checked a violation of God's law in regard to marriage. It was not unusual for a man to marry his stepmother, or his brother's widow. She showed the detestable character of these unions; and thenceforth they were given up. Many other practices, contrary to the rule of faith and the canons of the Church, were likewise forbidden and abandoned at her request.²

According to an English writer of the fourteenth century, the King and Queen of the Scots went farther in their zeal for English institutions, and subjected the Scottish primate to the supremacy of York. He mentions that at their command Fothad, or, as he styles him, Foderoch, Bishop of St. Andrews, made his profession of obedience to Thomas, Archbishop of York, acknowledging his transgression in having been consecrated by the Scots, instead of by the northern metropolitan.³ This statement is not of itself entitled to much authority, but it receives a certain degree of confirmation from a letter of King Alexander I. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which will afterwards be referred to.

During the reign of Malcolm Canmore, great changes were effected in the civil institutions of Scotland. Boece and his followers have in this, as in other respects, given currency to many fables, which it is not now necessary to refute. Some recent authors have gone to the opposite extreme, and have denied that any alterations of consequence were made at this

¹ Vita Margaretæ, c. ii. 16.

² Ibid. The practice of marrying the widow of a deceased brother was one of the abuses of the Celtic Church of Ireland. See Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 283.

³ "Ad hunc Thomam, consilio et imperio regis Scotorum Malcholini et regiñæ Margaretæ, venit Foderoch episcopus Sancti Andreae de Scotia, et transgressionem suam confitens, eo quod a Scotis ordinatus fuerat, cum ab Eboracensi Metropolitano jure consecrari debuerit, professionem ipsi archiepiscopo Thomæ suisque successoribus fecit, scriptamque legit et tradidit, quæ sic incipit; Ego Foderoch Scotorum Episcopus, in sede Sancti Andreae Apostoli &c. Ipse etiam episcopus Foderoch, jubente eodem archiepiscopo Thoma, in Eboraco ecclesias dedicavit." Stubbs—Decem Scriptores, p. 1709.

time. But the most learned enquirers are satisfied that the reign of Malcolm was really the commencement of a revolution in the language and people, the laws and manners of Northern Britain.¹ On his accession to the throne, he became sovereign of various territories which were not yet properly united into one kingdom. Northwards of the Forth and Clyde, the Scots and the Picts, now hardly to be distinguished from each other, occupied the whole country, except those parts of the coasts and of the islands which had been subdued by the Scandinavians. The south-western provinces were inhabited by the Cumbrian Britons, mixed with a considerable number of Gaelic and Danish colonists. The south-eastern districts had for many years been held by an English population; and although Lothian was comparatively a small part of the Scottish kingdom, its language and usages were gradually established over the greater and more fertile portion of the other provinces.

The early years of Malcolm had been spent in England, and it is probable that from the first he preferred the institutions of that country to those of his own Celtic race. His marriage with Margaret increased this attachment, and the circumstances of the time enabled him to gratify it. Many Saxons of high rank resorted to Scotland with their followers; and Norman nobles, dissatisfied with the stern rule of the Conqueror, soon learned to imitate their example. All met with a generous welcome from Malcolm. In his wars with England, multitudes of captives were taken and distributed through every part of the northern kingdom, and the savage devastation of Northumbria by William induced the wretched inhabitants to seek refuge beyond the Tweed. Although the great body of the Celtic people were averse to the strangers, many must have followed the example of their sovereign. The influence of Margaret was also working powerfully in the same direction, and the rude customs of the Scots yielded by degrees to the higher civilization of the South.

Commercial intercourse with other lands was likewise promoted by the Scottish sovereign. Hitherto the people of Northern Britain had known little of foreign nations, except their neighbours in England and Ireland, and the generally

¹ See Preface to the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, p. 4.

hostile Northmen. Now merchants were invited from different countries abroad, and found a ready sale for their goods. Greater splendour in apparel and in household arrangements became common. The king himself showed the example. Wherever he went he was accompanied by a numerous retinue, and the furniture and ornaments of the royal residence were such as became his dignity.¹

Malcolm was a brave, and frequently a successful warrior. It is no common proof of his ability that he was able to defend his kingdom against the attacks of the first two Norman sovereigns of England. An expedition, however, which he made into Northumberland in the end of the year 1093, brought his reign to a fatal close. While besieging the castle of Alnwick, he was suddenly attacked by Robert de Mowbray and slain, along with his son Edward. His body was interred at Tynemouth; but it was afterwards removed to Dunfermline by his son Alexander.²

For some time previous to this event, the health of Margaret had been very infirm. In the early part of the year, as it would seem, her confessor Turgot had left Scotland.³ He has recorded a conversation they had before his departure. "Farewell," she said, "I have not long to live, but you will survive me. I have two requests to make; one, that you remember me always in masses and prayers, the other, that you take affectionate care of my sons and daughters, teaching them to fear and love God above all things, and never ceasing to instruct them. And when you shall see any one of them

¹ *Vita Margaretæ*, c. ii. 11. The passage in Turgot, "*Aut enim aurea vel argentea, aut deaurata sive deargentata fuerunt vasa quibus regi et regni proceribus dapes inferebantur et potus*," has frequently been quoted. Lord Hailes set the example of praising the candour of the writer in admitting that the vessels of the royal table may only have been gold or silver gilt, not actually composed of the precious metals themselves. The natural sense of the words is opposed to this. Turgot means to say that some of the vessels were gold and silver, others only gilt.

² The circumstances of Malcolm's death have never been clearly ascertained. For the statements of the various chroniclers, see Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 27-30.

³ The exact date is uncertain. The priest who succeeded Turgot was in attendance on the queen for more than half a year before her decease (*Vita Margaretæ*, c. iv. 29). Turgot, who was Prior of Durham, probably left Scotland to assist at the foundation of the new cathedral of St. Cuthbert in August, 1093, on which occasion King Malcolm was also present.

exalted to the height of earthly grandeur, be in an especial manner his father and teacher. Warn him, and if need be reprove him, lest his fading earthly honours tempt him to pride; or covetousness make him sin against God; or this world's goods cause him to forget the happiness of that which is to come. Promise to attend to these things, in the presence of Him who is our only witness." Turgot made the required promise. They never met again.¹

Soon after this she became more infirm. Turgot relates what follows on the authority of a priest, who appears to have taken his place as her confessor, and who subsequently became a monk at Durham.

For more than six months she was unable to sit on horseback, and could seldom leave her bed. She was residing in the castle of Edinburgh, when the Scottish army entered England. On the day her husband fell, she had a foreboding that some evil was to happen. On the morning of the fourth day after, and while yet no intelligence of the event had reached her, the sickness having a little abated, she entered her oratory to be present at mass, and to strengthen herself for her approaching departure by receiving the sacred viaticum of the Body and Blood of her Lord. After she had partaken of the heavenly banquet, the pain returned, and she had to be laid on her bed. The agony continued to increase. "What shall I do?" she said. "Why do I linger? Can I, Lord, put off death and prolong life that thus I fear its end? 'For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away.'" Already the paleness of death was on her face, when she asked her confessor and the priests who were present to commend her soul to Christ. At the same time she requested a crucifix to be brought to her, known by the name of the Black Rood, and which she ever held in particular veneration.² There was some delay in opening the casket in

¹ Vita Margarete, c. iv. 27.

² Est illa, inquit Aelredus, longitudinem habens palmæ, de auro purissimo mirabile opere fabricata, quæ in modum thecæ clauditur et operitur. Cernitur in ea quædam Dominicæ Crucis portio, (sicut sæpe multorum miraculorum argumento probatum est,) Salvatoris nostri imaginem habens de ebore densissimo sculptam, et aureis distinctionibus mirabiliter decoratam. Hanc religiosa regina Margareta allatam in Scotiam, quasi hæreditatem transmisit

which it was enclosed. "Wretched sinner that I am," she said, "I am not worthy to look again upon the holy cross." When it was brought forth, she clasped it, and kissed it with deepest reverence. And now her whole body was turning cold, though the vital heat still lingered round her heart; yet she prayed without ceasing, and holding the cross with both hands before her eyes, she repeated the fifty-first Psalm.

At this instant, her son Edgar, who had returned from the army, entered the room. Full of grief for what had happened, and anxious about the perilous state of the kingdom, he had come back to find his mother on her death-bed. The queen, collecting all her remaining strength, addressed her son:—"How fares it," she said, "with your father and your brother?" He hesitated to speak plainly, lest the intelligence should cause her immediate death. His answer was: "They are well." With a deep sigh she replied: "I know it, my son, I know it; by this holy cross, by the love you bear your mother, I adjure you, tell me the truth." He told her all. Lifting up her eyes and hands to heaven, she said: "Praise and thanksgiving be to Thee, Lord Almighty, whose will it is that I should suffer this anguish at my departure, that so, as I trust, I may in some measure be cleansed from the stain of sin." She felt that she was dying, and began the prayer in the Liturgy, which was then said by the priest after the reception of the Eucharist: "O Lord Jesu Christ, who by the will of the Father, and through the Holy Spirit, by thy death hast given life unto the world, deliver me." As she uttered the words, "Deliver me," she expired. Her body was carried to Dunfermline and there interred.¹

Margaret died on the sixteenth of November, 1093. In the year 1250, her relics, and those of her husband, were translated to the new choir of the church of Dunfermline.

ad filios: quorum junior David, rex factus, magnificum eidem templum prope urbem ædificavit titulo S. Crucis." Papebroch—*Vite Antiquæ*, p. 352.

¹ *Vita Margarete*, c. iv. 28-32. The place where she resided during her last illness is not named, nor is the place where she was buried described otherwise than as the church of the Holy Trinity which she had founded; but there can be no doubt that later writers are correct in stating the one to be Edinburgh, the other to be Dunfermline.

In the course of the previous year she had been canonized by Pope Innocent IV., after the proceedings usual in such cases.¹

¹ In regard to the canonization and translation of S. Margaret, see appendix ii. of Papebroch, inserted in the *Vitæ Antiquæ*; and the *Chartulary of Dunfermline*, p. xii. with the deeds there referred to.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ST. MARGARET IN 1093, TO THE ACCESSION OF
ST. DAVID IN 1124.

Donald Bane, King of the Scots—Duncan II. King of the Scots—Edgar, King of the Scots—Restoration of Coldingham—Accession of King Alexander I.—Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews—Account of Turgot—Death of Turgot—His writings—Election of Eadmer to the see of St. Andrews—Character of Eadmer—Controversy between Alexander and Eadmer—Return of Eadmer to England—Death of Eadmer—His writings—Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews—Death of Alexander I.—Foundation of the Bishoprics of Dunkeld and Murray—Restoration of the Bishopric of Glasgow—John, Bishop of Glasgow—Inquest regarding the possessions of the see of Glasgow.

As already mentioned, Fothad, Bishop of St. Andrews, died in the year 1093, and thus Scotland was deprived at the same time of its king and its primate. A period of confusion followed, in which it is not easy to trace the precise order of events, either in our civil or in our ecclesiastical history. Sixteen years appear to have elapsed without a bishop of St. Andrews being consecrated. In the interval two prelates, Gregory and Cathre, are said to have been elected, and to have died before consecration.¹

Six sons and two daughters had been born of the marriage between Malcolm and Margaret.² Edward the eldest had

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 24. Fordun is the only authority for these bishops; they are not mentioned by Winton.

² The sons were Edward, Ethelred, Edmund, Edgar, Alexander, and David; the daughters, Matilda and Mary. These names are significant of the change which had been begun in Scotland. None of them is of Celtic origin. "It is remarkable that not one of the six sons of Malcolm received the name of any of the ancient kings of Scotland. All their names seem to have been chosen by Margaret. Edward bore the name of her father, Edmund of her grandfather, Ethelred of her great-grandfather, Edgar of her brother. It is probable that the

died with his father at Alnwick. The anxious forebodings regarding the dangerous state of the kingdom, which disturbed the mind of Edgar when he stood beside his dying mother, were justified by the events which immediately took place. The Celtic inhabitants of Scotland, jealous of the foreign predilections of their late sovereign, disregarded the claim of his children, and, in accordance with their old law of succession, raised Donald Bane, brother of Malcolm, to the throne. The three youngest sons and the two daughters found refuge in England.

Donald ruled only for a few months. Duncan, son of Malcolm by his first marriage, was allowed by William Rufus to collect a band of Saxon and Norman followers and invade Scotland. His enterprize was successful, and Donald was dethroned in the summer of 1094. Duncan became king, but his reign was equally brief. Edmund, the only unworthy son of Malcolm and Margaret, entered into an agreement with his uncle Donald, and at their instigation Duncan was slain. Donald again reigned for three years. In the autumn of 1097, Edgar Atheling raised an army in England to assert the rights of his sister's sons. Donald was defeated and taken, and soon afterwards died in prison. His ally Edmund was also condemned to perpetual captivity. In solitude he repented of his crime, and in token of his penitence gave orders that his fetters should be buried with him. Ethelred, the second son of Margaret, was probably dead, and Edgar the fourth son was now acknowledged King of the Scots.¹

The kings, Donald and Duncan, appear among the benefactors to Lochleven. Ethelred, son of Malcolm, Earl of Fife and Abbot of Dunkeld, conferred on that house the lands of

name of Alexander was bestowed on the fifth son in honour of Pope Alexander II. As David was the youngest, we may conjecture that he was born when Margaret had no hope of more children; and therefore that he received the name of the youngest son of Jesse." (Hailes, vol. i. pp. 50, 51.)

¹ The authorities for this period are the Extracts from the St. Andrews Register—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 803; the Elegiac Chronicle—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 333; the Annals of Ulster—*Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 357; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—Giles's Translation, pp. 469, 471, 475; and Malmesbury, lib. v. ed. Hardy, pp. 627, 628. Compare also Hailes, vol. i. p. 51-54; Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 422-425; and an essay on the reign of Duncan II., by Professor Stuart of Marischal College, Aberdeen, p. 107-116 of his Essays, as reprinted at Aberdeen in 1846.

Admore, and both he and King Duncan made grants to the monastery of Dunfermline. Duncan is also said to have bestowed certain lands on the Church of Durham.¹

King Edgar is described as mild and amiable, just and beneficent, resembling in these qualities his maternal kinsman Edward the Confessor. He carried out the wise measures of his father, encouraging Saxons and Normans to settle in his kingdom, and favouring the growth of English manners and institutions. He became still more closely connected with England by the marriage of his sister Matilda with Henry I. Matilda emulated her mother's virtues, but was much less happy in her husband. In all qualities, except intellectual cultivation, Beauclerc was inferior to Malcolm. The marriage of Henry and Matilda took place in the year 1100. In 1102, Edgar's other sister Mary was united to Eustace, Count of Boulogne, brother of the illustrious Godfrey.

Edgar, like his predecessors, made grants to Lochleven and Dunfermline. In 1097 or 1098 he restored the monastery of Coldingham, and bestowed it on the Church of Durham. This was probably the oldest foundation of the Benedictine order in Scotland. He made various other grants to the monks of St. Cuthbert, and his example was followed by one of his nobles, Thor the Long, whose gift of Ednam, near the Tweed, is important as illustrating the establishment of parishes in Scotland.² Edgar died on the eighth of January, 1107, and was buried at Dunfermline.³

Alexander, the brother and successor of Edgar, was married

¹ *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae*, p. 115. *Regist. de Dunfermline*, p. 3. The lay-abbacy of Dunkeld had no doubt descended to Ethelred, in right of his great-grandfather Crinan. If the deed (*Raine's North Durham*, appendix, p. 1, and *Diplomata Scotiæ* iv.) be genuine, it is the oldest extant Scottish charter. Its authenticity was suspected by Hailes (*Annals*, vol. i. pp. 52, 53), and denied by Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 544, 545). Mr. Cosmo Innes (*Preface to the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, p. 3) speaks doubtfully, but Mr. Raine (*North Durham*, p. 374-376) enters into an elaborate examination of the whole subject, and gives strong reasons for holding the charter to be genuine.

² *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae*, p. 115. *Regist. de Dunfermline*, p. 3. *Raine's North Durham*, p. 374, and appendix, pp. 1, 2, 38. *Diplomata Scotiæ*, vi. lxi.

³ *Simeon of Durham—Decem Scriptores*, p. 230. *Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae—Innes's Critical Essay*, p. 803.

to Sibylla, a natural daughter of Henry Beauclerc.¹ He continued to pursue what had now become the established policy of his family; and similar measures for the civilization of Celtic Scotland were yet more vigorously carried on by his brother David, who governed Cumbria.

The ecclesiastical history of Alexander's reign is of great importance, and may be traced with considerable accuracy and minuteness. He appears to have written to St. Anselm immediately after his accession. This letter is not preserved, but the purport may be gathered from the archbishop's answer. He speaks highly of the virtues and early religious training of Edgar and Alexander; exhorts the king so to conduct himself that the wicked may be afraid of him and the good may love him; and advises him, as the best means of making his life well-pleasing to God, ever to bear in mind the judgment of the great day.²

One of Alexander's first duties was to provide a bishop for the see of St. Andrews. More learning and accomplishments were now required for the primacy than were to be found among his Scottish subjects, and probably it was not his wish, in any event, to continue the line of Celtic prelates. Alexander's thoughts naturally turned to the guide of his youth, the trusted friend and counsellor of his mother. With the approbation of his clergy and people he made choice of Turgot to be bishop. The election took place in the first year of his reign, but the consecration was delayed by various causes, among others, by a controversy which now for the first time comes prominently before us. The Archbishop of York asserted his right to consecrate the Bishop of St. Andrews, holding the whole Scottish kingdom to be within his province. But as Thomas, who was then metropolitan of the northern province, had not yet himself received consecration, his principal suffragan, Ranulph, Bishop of Durham,

¹ Lord Hailes (vol. i. p. 56) ridicules the notions of Ruddiman as altogether modern, because he was rather ashamed of Alexander's marriage with the illegitimate daughter of an English king. Ruddiman's meaning (note to Buchanan's Works, vol. i. p. 422) is not accurately represented by Hailes; neither is the latter correct in his own views on the point. He did not advert to the great change which had already come over the general mind of Western Christendom, in this, as in other important respects, in consequence of the reforms of Gregory VII.

² S. Anselmi Epist. lib. iii. ep. 132—Anselmi Opera, ed. Gerberon, 1675, p. 414.

proposed that he, with the bishops of Scotland and Orkney, should consecrate Turgot at York.¹ On Ranulph's requesting the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury to this arrangement, Anselm absolutely forbade him to proceed, stating that an archbishop-elect could not confer, by means of others, the jurisdiction or the cure of souls which he had not yet received himself. When Thomas heard from Anselm to this effect, he disclaimed the proceedings of his suffragan. The Scottish clergy, on their part, contended that the Archbishop of York had no authority over the Church of St. Andrews, and in this received the zealous support of their sovereign. An arrangement was made by which the difficulty was obviated. The Archbishop of York having now been consecrated, it was agreed that he should raise Turgot to the episcopate, but with an express reservation of the rights of both Churches. The consecration accordingly took place at York, on Sunday, the first of August, 1109, Thomas himself having the same day received the pall from the legate Ulric.²

Turgot was the first of a line of English prelates, Saxon or Norman, who filled the see of St. Andrews for many years. He was of a Saxon family of considerable rank, and after the Conquest had been detained as a hostage in Lincoln Castle. He found means of escaping to Norway, and there attained high favour with King Olave the Peaceable, son of Harold Hardrada. He lived for sometime in great affluence and splendour, but would often feel compunction for the manner in which he was spending his time; and, withdrawing from the banquet, would pray to God, with tears, to shew him the way of salvation. As riches increased he became satisfied and indifferent. He returned to England carrying his wealth

¹ "Inter hæc electus est ab Alexandro rege Scotiæ, et clero et populo, monachus quidam Dunelmensis nomine Turgodus, ad episcopatum Sancti Andreæ de Scotia. Cujus consecratio dum ultra quam expediret demoraretur, tum propterea quia Thomas Eboracensis ecclesiæ antistes electus necdum fuerat consecratus, tum propter quædam alia, quæ longum est enarrare, Ranulphus Dunelmensis episcopus proposuit eundem electum in præsentia ipsius Thomæ apud Eboracum consecrare, associatis sibi episcopis Scotiæ et Orcadarum Insularum." Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, ed. Gerberon, 1675, pp. 79, 80.

² Eadmer, pp. 79, 80. Simeon of Durham—*Decem Scriptores*, p. 207. Hoveden—*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, ed. 1601, p. 472. *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, p. 64. See also Hailes, vol. i. pp. 57, 58.

with him, but was shipwrecked on the voyage, and escaped with difficulty, and with the loss of all his property. Viewing this as a judgment sent to him in mercy, he resolved to embrace the monastic life.

Some time before this, a Benedictine monk, named Aldwin, had left his Mercian convent with several companions, and had gone to the north of England for the purpose of visiting and restoring the monasteries there, which had lain in ruins since the Danish invasions. Assisted by Walcher, Bishop of Durham, they succeeded in rebuilding Jarrow, Whitby, and other famous abodes of piety. The zeal for the monastic life which had long slumbered in Northumbria was awakened by their exertions. Turgot, by the advice of Bishop Walcher, betook himself to Aldwin, and after a regular probation received the habit from him. He accompanied his superior from Jarrow to Melrose, and thence to Wearmouth. When monks were substituted for secular canons at Durham by Bishop William, Walcher's successor, Aldwin became the first prior of the cathedral church. On his death in 1087, Turgot was appointed to succeed him. The intimate relations which then existed between England and Scotland enabled him to act as confessor to Queen Margaret, without neglecting his duties as prior. After her death, his permanent residence was at Durham until he was raised to the see of St. Andrews.¹

For some reasons which are not sufficiently explained, the primatial rule of Turgot was not so satisfactory as might have been anticipated. He was probably disposed to yield too much to the pretensions of York. Alexander, however anxious to improve his kingdom, was very jealous of its civil and ecclesiastical independence. He was also a high-spirited prince, as his surname of "the Fierce" implies, differing in this respect from his mild predecessor, though resembling him in religious zeal, and in the purity of his personal character. Differences arose between the king and the bishop, and became so great that Turgot appears to have contemplated the resignation of his see. While deliberating as to his future

¹ For the life of Turgot before he became Bishop of St. Andrews, see Simeon of Durham, pp. 206, 207; Hoveden, pp. 455, 456; and *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. pp. 785, 786.

proceedings, he went to visit his former brethren at Durham, and died there on the thirty-first of August, 1115.¹

Turgot is supposed by some to have been the real author of the History of the Church of Durham, ascribed to Simeon. His Life of St. Margaret was probably written during the reign of Edgar. He refers to the King of Scotland then on the throne as standing by Margaret's death-bed. This can only apply to Edgar or to Alexander; and as he speaks more than once of the Church of St. Andrews, without any allusion to his being bishop there, although he mentions an office which he held at Dunfermline, we may conclude that the work was written before the accession of Alexander.

King Alexander seems to have feared that the decease of Turgot would be followed by a renewal of the claims of York. He immediately wrote a letter to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, notifying the death of the Bishop of St. Andrews, and requesting his counsel and assistance in the choice of a successor. He reminds the archbishop of what he had mentioned to him on some former occasion—that the Bishops of St. Andrews, in old times, were consecrated either by the Pope, or by the Archbishop of Canterbury, although by some arrangement, the nature of which he does not know, and to which himself and his people were no parties, Archbishop Lanfranc gave up his right for a time to Thomas of York. He was now anxious that the former usage should be restored.²

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 65. *Eadmer*, p. 90. *Simeon of Durham*, p. 208. See also *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 786, and *Hailes*, vol. i. pp. 58, 59. *Simeon of Durham* gives the 31st of March as the day of Turgot's decease, but King Alexander's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in *Eadmer's History*, fixes the true date.

² “*Petimus etiam ut recordari dignemini, quid vobis jam quadam vice suggestissimus de Episcopis ecclesiæ Sancti Andree, quod in antiquis temporibus non solebant consecrari nisi ab ipso Romano Pontifice, vel ab Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi; hocque tenuimus, et per successiones temporum ex auctoritate ratum habuimus, quousque Dominus Lanfrancus archiepiscopus, nescimus quo pacto, absentibus nobis et nostris, Thomæ Eboraci Archiepiscopo illed ad tempus relaxaverat. Quod omnino vestra, si placet, auctoritate suffulti, ut amplius sic remaneat non concedimus.*” *Eadmer*, p. 90. *Lord Hailes (Annals, vol. i. p. 60)* says—“There is something very embarrassed and obscure in the passage, nor can it be well reconciled with the truth of history.” The arrangement referred to by Alexander may have been the submission made by the Bishop of St. Andrews to Thomas, Archbishop of York, mentioned in last chapter; or

Nothing seems to have been done for some years, but Alexander at last felt that the vacancy of the bishopric had been needlessly prolonged, and took blame to himself for the delay. Early in 1120, he again wrote to Archbishop Ralph, and sent his letter by Peter, Prior of Dunfermline, and other messengers. Its purport was to request the archbishop to send to him Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, free from all English ties, so that he might be promoted to the see of St. Andrews. The archbishop acceded to Alexander's request, and King Henry also granted his royal licence that Eadmer should be given over freely to the Church of St. Andrews.¹ Eadmer set out for Scotland, and on the third day after his arrival, being the feast of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, was elected by the clergy and people, with the king's assent, and entered on the government of his diocese. On this occasion he neither received investiture by delivery of the pastoral staff and ring, nor was he asked to do homage.²

The Bishop-elect of St. Andrews was a remarkable person. He was probably of Saxon descent, and in early life had become a monk at Canterbury. From religious principle and strong personal affection, he attached himself to the service of St. Anselm; accompanying that prelate during his first and second exile from England, sharing in all his dangers and distresses, partaking in his triumphs, and, in every circumstance, prosperous or adverse, finding new grounds of devotion to his master and the Church of Canterbury. He was among the chosen friends who stood beside Anselm's deathbed, and assisted at his funeral; and his own name was inseparably linked with the archbishop's, when he became the chronicler of his actions. He continued to reside at Canterbury in high esteem with Archbishop Ralph, who only parted

perhaps it was the settlement of the controversy between the two English archbishops in 1072, when it was agreed that, while all the bishops south of the Humber should be subject to Canterbury, those to the north of that river, as far as the utmost limits of Scotland, should yield obedience to the see of York. To this last compact the Scottish Church and sovereign were no parties. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 324, 325, and Malmesbury, p. 474-477.

¹ "Volo et concedo ut monachum illum unde Rex Scotiæ te requisivit liberum ei concedas, ad consuetudinem terræ suæ, in episcopatu Sancti Andreæ." "Mittimus ergo ad vos personam quam petitis et omnino liberam." Eadmer, p. 98.

² Eadmer, pp. 97, 93.

with him in obedience to what he held to be a providential call.

The disciple of Anselm was necessarily a zealous advocate of the high ecclesiastical principle in the contest between Church and State. The chief question in dispute had been adjusted in England, by the abandonment of lay investiture by the ring and crosier; and a like settlement of the controversy, on the part of the Pope and the Emperor, was soon to follow. But the strife was always liable to break out again under new forms. King Alexander must have been well aware of the opinions of Eadmer, and probably partook of them himself to a considerable extent. He must, therefore, have been prepared to yield the question of investiture, so far at least as it had been given up by King Henry. On another point he was much more determined. The independence of the Scottish Church and kingdom was dear to him, and he was resolved not to sacrifice them to the claims of the English king and primates. He had rightly calculated that the bishop-elect would not seek to subject Scotland to the see of York, but he was not prepared for his devotion to the Church of Canterbury. Eadmer believed that the primatial rights of his mother-church extended over all the British islands, and that the successor of St. Augustine was entitled to a degree of submission only inferior to what was due to Rome. The king dreaded York as his nearest and most dangerous adversary, but was equally opposed to the pretensions of the southern metropolis.

On the day after the investiture, Alexander had a private interview with Eadmer on the subject of his consecration, and expressed an aversion to his applying to York for that purpose. The bishop-elect stated that Canterbury, from ancient times, had held the primacy of all Britain; and he therefore proposed, with the king's leave, to receive consecration from the archbishop of that see. Alexander would not listen to his request, and rising in considerable excitement broke off the conference. He immediately sent for William, a monk of St. Edmondsbury, who had administered the temporalities of the see since the death of Turgot, and commanded him to resume his charge.

A month after these events, a partial reconciliation was

effected between the king and the bishop by the mediation of the nobles. Alexander now insisted on giving the ring to Eadmer, and the latter reluctantly agreed to receive it, while he took the pastoral staff himself from off the altar in the presence of two bishops. Repairing to St. Andrews, he was met by Queen Sibylla, in the king's absence, and, having been received by the clerks and the people, entered on the administration of his diocese.¹

In the meantime, Thurstan, Archbishop of York, who had been beyond seas with King Henry, prevailed on his sovereign to oppose the consecration of Eadmer by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to intimate his wishes to that prelate and the King of the Scots. The bishop-elect was disturbed by these proceedings, and felt himself unable to carry through the measures of ecclesiastical discipline which he held to be essential. He therefore proposed to go to Canterbury for advice. When the king heard of his design, he told him that he had received him free, and while he lived he would never allow the Bishop of the Scots to be subject to the English primate. Eadmer answered: "Not for all Scotland will I renounce being a monk of Canterbury." "Then," said the king in anger, "I have made nothing by my application to Canterbury for a bishop."

Their differences now increased, and Eadmer, feeling that his position was daily becoming more uneasy, asked formal permission to return to Canterbury, and there receive consecration. Alexander positively refused his consent. Eadmer then consulted John, Bishop of Glasgow, and two monks of Canterbury who happened to be with him, as to his proper course of proceeding. After an interview with Alexander, they informed Eadmer that he need never expect peace or cordial reconciliation; that the king was determined to be every thing in his own kingdom; and that he must be prepared either to submit to the will of Alexander in all things, and conform to the Scottish usages, or to leave the country.²

Eadmer in his difficulties had also consulted a friend in

¹ "Post hæc ad ecclesiam Sancti Andree venit, et occurrente ei regina, susceptus a Scolasticis et plebe, pontificis loco successit." Those here styled "Scolastici" by Eadmer were the clerks or "Scolocs" of St. Andrews.

² Eadmer, pp. 98, 99.

England, an ecclesiastic named Nicholas, from whom he received a letter advising submission yet more strongly. This letter enters fully into the merits of the controversy. Its writer first examines the claim of York to the primacy of Scotland. He shews that this claim is altogether unfounded. York had repeatedly been indebted to the Scots for its religion, and the succession of its prelates; but the Scots had never received bishops from York, except in the recent case of Turgot: no historical authority, not even legend could be adduced to the contrary. York should therefore no longer covet the Scottish primacy. Although the pall is yet unknown among the Scots, the Bishop of St. Andrews is called their chief bishop. A chief bishop is he who is superior to other bishops; and what is that but an archbishop? If then the prelate of York should be above their chief bishop, he would not be a metropolitan simply; he would also be the primate of another kingdom—a thing never heard of. “You have nothing to do,” continued Nicholas, “with providing suffragans for York. It may find them elsewhere if it can. Its archbishops had of old six dioceses under them, which they lost by their own negligence and cupidity—all save two, Durham and Glasgow. Hear then what I have to advise. Put an end to the differences between Canterbury and York, between England and Scotland; and, with the permission of the King of the Scots, apply for consecration to the apostolic see. Do your duty boldly to those who are now your Church and people. Let them not lose freedom and dignity while you are bishop.”¹

The advice of Nicholas was at once bold and prudent, but Eadmer preferred the alternative suggested by the Bishop of Glasgow. He left Scotland, placing his pastoral staff on the altar whence he had taken it, and returning the ring to Alexander. According to his own account, he stated that, as he

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 234-236. It is not known precisely who Nicholas, the writer of this letter, was. Wharton thinks (*ibid.* p. xiii.) that he was the Nicholas, Prior of Worcester, who was educated at Canterbury under Lanfranc, and so a fellow-student with Eadmer: and in this opinion Mr. Wright agrees (*Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, p. 106). The whole letter is curious and instructive in several respects. In the beginning of it the writer exhorts Eadmer to conciliate the Scots by the practice of liberal hospitality; in the conclusion he requests a present of some pearls, mentioning that, if the bishop cannot obtain them otherwise, he may do so by applying to the king, who has a greater store of them than any man living.

was driven away by violence, he would resign the see, and make no attempt to reclaim it during the life of Alexander, unless the Pope, the monks of Canterbury, and the King of England, should advise him otherwise.

Alexander, evidently apprehensive of the effect which these proceedings would have in England, immediately wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He explained that Eadmer would not conform, as was necessary at this time, to the manners and usages of Scotland, and that, in the presence of several of the bishops and nobles, he had asked leave to depart, saying that he would not remain unless he were detained by force. "I made answer," continues the king, "that if he could shew I had given just cause of offence in aught, either by word or deed, I was ready to make amends. In the hearing of all who were beside, he stated that I had done him no wrong. Farther, I, and the prelates and earls, and other good men of the land, proffered our obedience to him in all things lawful, and entreated him not to resign the see until I had an opportunity of consulting the King of England and yourself. He repeated that he would not remain, unless kept back by force; that he knew himself to be unfit for the office, that he could do no good in it, and, if he remained, it would be to the injury of his own soul and the souls of others. Unwilling to detain him, I reluctantly gave my assent. He resigned the see, and we parted in peace."

Eadmer had acted neither wisely nor rightly in attempting to subject an independent Church to the see of Canterbury, but, in so far as the two accounts differ, his explanation is more to be relied on than that of the king. It is very unlikely that Alexander, after he found him so unbending, would take any pains to induce him to remain.

The archbishop's answer to the king's letter was judicious and conciliatory. He referred to the different account which he had received from Eadmer, and mentioned that when he had an opportunity of a personal conference with the king, if it should be found that Eadmer in his life and doctrine was profitable to Scotland, he would enjoin him on his obedience to return, but, if otherwise, he would gladly retain him at Canterbury, as one well instructed in the law of the Lord, and fit for any good work.¹

¹ Eadmer, pp. 99, 100.

About a year and a half after these events, Eadmer himself wrote to the King of the Scots. He tells us, in his own narrative, that many of his friends—bishops, abbots, and nobles—who resorted to Canterbury, and enquired about the matter of his episcopate, were of opinion that having been canonically elected, though not consecrated, he was not entitled to resign his see. He fancied also that the conduct of St. Anselm, when driven from England, confirmed this view.

After thanking the king for his former kindness, he stated that one elected, received, and invested, as he had been, could not lawfully give up his see, nor could another, while he lived, be named to fill it. "But to let those things pass," he continued, "if you will allow me to return and discharge my duty to God and your highness, I will endeavour to come, and in all things submit to your will, unless it is opposed to the will of God. If you agree not to this, I can do no more. To God I commit his Church's cause. Let Him reward every one in this matter according as he deserves. I have delivered my own soul. I, as bound in duty, have laid my cause before Him, prepared in all things to do his will. But lest you should think that in any respect I wish to derogate from the freedom and dignity of the Scottish kingdom, I give you my assurance that what you asked of me, and what I then refused to agree to, esteeming otherwise, as I have now learned, than I should have done, of the King of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the sacerdotal benediction, if you are still of the same mind, I will not oppose; nor shall those things separate me in any way from the service of God and your affection, so that I should not comply with your wishes. Only let me be permitted, with your leave, to do whatever else belongs of right to the Bishop of St. Andrews."

At the same time Archbishop Ralph and the convent of Canterbury wrote to Alexander, exhorting him to recall Eadmer, and so fill up the see which had been vacant such a length of time, and which could not lawfully receive another pastor during his life.¹

¹ Eadmer, pp. 102, 103. The letter from the archbishop and the monks of Christ Church is in a more peremptory tone than the former communication from the archbishop personally, after Eadmer's return. Hailes conjectures that, as

These letters were written in 1122, and the archbishop died in the course of the same year. No farther details regarding the controversy are to be found in Eadmer's History of his Own Time. That work concludes with the decease of Archbishop Ralph, and does not mention what answer Alexander returned to the letters. We know, however, that he persisted in his resolution, disregarding both the solicitations of the bishop-elect, and the remonstrances of the primate and his monks. Eadmer became precentor of the Church of Canterbury, and died, as is supposed, on the thirteenth of January, 1124.¹ He was a learned and good man; but, though admirably adapted to assist in the great ecclesiastical struggle so long as he had the genius of Anselm to direct him, he had not the capacity and self-reliance necessary to guide him in a task so difficult as that which was imposed upon him when he was elected to the primacy of Scotland.²

It is probable that Alexander found some difficulty in the archbishop was in very infirm health for some time before his death, the whole correspondence may have been really the work of the monks of Canterbury. It is more likely that the first letter expressed his own sentiments, and that the language of the second, written a short time before his decease, marked the greater sympathy of the monks with their disappointed brother. Hailes (*Annals* vol. i. p. 59-71) may be consulted as to the controversy between Alexander and Eadmer. The whole matter is there explained with great clearness and impartiality; the only defect of the narrative being an occasional exaggeration in the writer's own remarks, which those who have not consulted the original authorities will be very apt to attribute to Eadmer or Nicholas.

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. xii. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, p. 81.

² The writings of Eadmer are numerous. The most valuable are the *Historia Novorum, sive Sui Sæculi*, from which most of the previous narrative has been derived, and the *Life of Anselm*. The former immediately attained a high reputation, as we may gather from what Malmesbury says of it in his preface to the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. He also wrote *Lives of Odo, Dunstan, and Bregwin*, Archbishops of Canterbury, and of Wilfrid and Oswald, of York, and other biographies and theological treatises, which are published for the most part by Gerberon and Wharton, but some of which still remain in manuscript. In devoting a considerable portion of his time to literary pursuits, he gratified what he himself has told us was the strong natural bent of his own mind: "*quia mihi ab infantia hic mos erat semper nova quæ forte, sed maxime in ecclesiasticis, occurrebant, diligenti intentione considerare, ac memoriæ commendare.*" (*Hist. Novorum*, pp. 53, 54.) On the subject of Eadmer's writings, see *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. xiii.-xv., and Wright, pp. 81, 82.

filling the see of St. Andrews during the lifetime of Eadmer. In the list of bishops given by Fordun, immediately after Gregory and Cathre appear the names of Edmar and Godrie, who are also said to have died before consecration. Turgot is next mentioned, and after him Edmund, otherwise called Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury.¹ It has been generally supposed that all the first four preceded Turgot;² but, if conjecture may be allowed where nothing certain is known, it seems more likely that the Edmar of Fordun is the same person as his Eadmer, and that Godrie really came after Eadmer, instead of preceding Turgot. Godrie, whose name implies his Saxon descent, probably held the see for a short time as bishop-elect while Eadmer was yet living. On the decease of the latter in January, 1124, all difficulty was removed, so far as the election simply was concerned, and Alexander then made choice of a prelate with whose character and qualifications he was already sufficiently acquainted.

In the year 1114, according to Fordun, or 1115 according to the Chronicle of Melrose, Alexander and his wife Sibylla had founded a monastery of Canons-Regular of the order of St. Augustine at Scone, the ancient residence of the Scottish kings, and the seat of a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The canons were brought from St. Oswald's near Pontefract, and the first superior was an Englishman, named Robert.³ The Prior of Scone was named by the king to the vacant see of St. Andrews, and he was accordingly elected early in 1124.⁴ The king did not long survive. He died in the end of April in the same year, and was buried at Dunfermline.⁵ Alexander left no children. His successor was his brother David, the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret.

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 24.

² Ruddiman's Preface to *Diplomata Scotiæ*, p. 19. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 430, and p. 674.

³ *Liber Ecclesiæ de Scone*, foundation charter, p. 1, and editor's preface, p. ix. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 65. *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. cc. 36, 37.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 68. *Hist. B. Reguli et foundationis ecclesiæ S. Andreæ*—Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 464.

⁵ *Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*—Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 804. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 67.

Fordun has briefly delineated the character of Alexander. "No one," he says, "was more devoted to the clergy, more bountiful to strangers, more severe to evil-doers, more kind and courteous to the good."¹ His donations to the Church were numerous and munificent. He gave the island in Loch Tay, where his queen Sibylla was buried, to his new foundation of Scone.² He greatly augmented the possessions of the see of St. Andrews by the grant of an extensive territory in the neighbourhood of the city, known by the name of the Boar's Chase. The singular ceremony which accompanied his gift is described in the History of the Foundation of the Church, and by Winton. The king's "comely steed of Araby," magnificently accoutred, was led up to the high altar, and his Turkish armour, his shield, and his lance of silver, were presented to the Church.³ Alexander also made additional gifts to his mother's foundation at Dunfermline, and to his brother's at Coldingham. About the year 1123, in gratitude for an extraordinary deliverance from shipwreck in the Frith of Forth, he founded the monastery of Inch-corm for Canons-Regular, dedicated, as the name shews, to St. Columba.⁴

More important than any of these was the foundation of the bishoprics of Dunkeld and Murray, which, on good evidence, may be referred to the reign of Alexander I. Prior to this time, as has already been explained, there was only one diocesan prelate in Scotland—the Bishop of St. Andrews, styled, on that account, the Bishop of the Scots. The old title of the see was still retained, but it was no longer the only diocese. Under the authority of Alexander, as we may fairly assume, the see of Dunkeld was established, having jurisdiction probably over the extensive territory afterwards apportioned among the three dioceses of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Argyll; while all the Scottish provinces beyond the Spey were formed into the bishopric of Murray. Cormac was the first diocesan bishop of Dunkeld. The first bishop of Murray

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 40.

² *Liber de Scone*, p. 3.

³ See Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 464; and Winton, vol. i. pp. 285, 286.

⁴ *Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 3. Raine's *North Durham*, appendix, p. 3. *Diplomata Scotiæ*. viii. *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 37.

was Gregory. In the latter diocese there was not yet any fixed cathedral church.¹

While Alexander was improving the condition of his subjects in his proper kingdom of Scotland, and assimilating their ecclesiastical institutions to those of the rest of Christendom, his brother David was pursuing the same course in the principality of Cumbria. In the year 1113, he brought a colony of reformed Benedictine monks from Tyron in France, and established them at Selkirk. The new monastery was dedicated to St. Mary, and St. John the Evangelist.²

But the chief event which distinguished the rule of Prince David was the restoration of the Church of Glasgow. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the condition of Cumbria was very miserable. Its situation exposed it to invasion in all the wars between the English and the Scots; the Danes had entered it from the south; and a barbarous population of mixed descent had grown up, resembling rather a multitude of heathen tribes than a Christian people. The improvement of those committed to his government became the chief care of David. He endeavoured to correct their savage manners by wise laws, and by the exact administration of justice. Above all he strove to re-establish the fallen ecclesiastical system of

¹ The evidence of these important statements is to be found in the Chartularies of Scone and Dunfermline. The foundation charter of Scone (*Liber de Scone*, p. 3) is confirmed by Gregory the bishop, and Cormac the bishop. The names of their sees are not given, and they are the only bishops who attest the charter. In another deed in favour of the same monastery by King Alexander (*ibid.* p. 4), Cormac the bishop, and Gregory, Bishop of Murray, are two of the witnesses, the only other bishop attesting it being Robert, elect of St. Andrews. King David's first charter to Dunfermline (*Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 4) is confirmed by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, John, Bishop of Glasgow, Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, Gregory, Bishop of Murray, and Macbeth, Bishop of Ross. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Cormac and Gregory mentioned in each of these charters are the same individuals; and, as the foundation charter of Scone was granted in 1114 or 1115, it may be inferred that the bishoprics of Dunkeld and Murray had been previously erected. There is no evidence, and it is not likely, that they were founded before the reign of Alexander. This is the opinion, so far as Murray is concerned, of the learned editor of the Chartulary of that bishopric (preface, pp. xi. xii). See also Goodall's Dissertation on the Culdees—Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, Russell's ed. p. liv.; and Shaw's History of Moray, ed. 1827, pp. 307, 308.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 64. *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 36. Foundation charter of Selkirk, by Earl David—*Liber de Kelso*, pp. 3, 4, and preface to that Chartulary, pp. vii. viii. Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 77, 78.

Cumbria; and for that purpose his first step was to procure the consecration of a bishop.

It is not known at what precise time the line of prelates who succeeded St. Kentigern became extinct. There was a tradition of the Church of York that two prelates, Magsuem and John, had been consecrated for Glasgow in the middle of the eleventh century by Archbishop Kinsius.¹ The authority on which this rests is very questionable; the statement was probably made to support the claims of the northern metropolis to supremacy over the Scottish Church. The Cumbrians themselves maintained that, down to the times of the Normans, their bishops were consecrated either by the Bishop of St. Andrews or by the Welsh prelates. The see of Glasgow was certainly vacant almost for a whole generation before the commencement of David's rule. The first bishop whose name is ascertained was John, an ecclesiastic of British descent, to whom Prince David was indebted for his education, and who was now selected to fill the see. The new prelate, knowing the difficulties of the task thus sought to be laid upon him, endeavoured to avoid it by setting out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but was compelled to give up his design by Pope Paschal II. Thomas, Archbishop of York, having expressed his concurrence in the election, John received consecration from the Pope himself, and, returning to Scotland, entered on the duties of his office, to the great joy of prince and people. This probably took place about the year 1114.²

Not long after the commencement of John's episcopate, David caused enquiry to be made regarding the lands and

¹ *Iste [Kinsius] Magsuem ad ecclesiam Glasnensem ordinavit episcopum, similiter et successorem illius Magsuem Johannem eidem ecclesiæ subrogatum consecravit, et ab eis cartam professionis accepit, quæ in conflagratione Eboracensis ecclesiæ a Normannis facta, cum ornamentis et libris, et privilegiis et cæteris cartis, combustæ sunt.*" Stubbs—*Decem Scriptores*, p. 1700.

² *Inquisition—Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, p. 4. Letter, Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Calixtus II.—*Decem Scriptores*, pp. 1743, 1746. Letters of Pope Calixtus II. and Pope Innocent II. to John, Bishop of Glasgow—*Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. pp. 1187, 1188. Bishop John is evidently the same prelate who is called Michael by Stubbs. That writer, as usual, asserts that the Scottish bishop made a profession of canonical obedience to the see of York. See *Actus Pontificum Eboracensium—Decem Scriptores*, p. 1713; and Keith's Catalogue, p. 231.

endowments possessed of old by the see of Glasgow, with the purpose of restoring them to the Church. The elders and wise men of Cumbria¹ met at his command, and after careful investigation ascertained the extent of the possessions, so far as they lay within the province governed by David; for a considerable part of the old British kingdom was now subject to the English. Those who drew up the inquest prefixed to their return a brief account of the manner in which these lands had been lost to the Church. They mention the ancient erection of the see of Glasgow, and its endowment by the princes and nobles of Cumbria; the appointment of St. Kentigern as bishop, and the fact of his having had many successors in the diocese; and the subsequent loss of the ecclesiastical possessions, during the times of irreligion and confusion with which their country had been afflicted.²

The document in which these particulars are stated is the oldest existing record of the Church of Glasgow, and is one of the most valuable monuments of our ecclesiastical history. Its genuineness, and the correctness of the statements contained in it, have both been questioned, chiefly on account of the support which they give to the fact of a regular episcopal succession preserved for many ages in the south of Scotland. The genuineness of the instrument itself, however, is beyond all doubt. There can be as little hesitation in receiving the verdict of the inquest regarding the possessions of the see. These would hardly have been reclaimed from the parties who held them, if the unjust foundation of their claim had not been satisfactorily established. There is nothing improbable in the statement that the Church of Glasgow had such possessions in old times, nor in the fact having been kept in recollection for many years after their alienation. In the early ages of the Celtic Churches, these grants were not conferred by charter, nor were they enrolled in formal registers; but short memoranda, like those of Locheleven, were not uncommon; and even, if there happened to be none such, the extent and boundaries of the lands possessed by any particular church might easily have been preserved in the tradition of the district.

¹ "Seniorum hominum et sapientiorum totius Cumbriæ."

² Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen. p. 3-5.

The narrative regarding Kentigern and his successors cannot claim equal authority. It mentions circumstances which the inquest had not the same means of verifying; but these also are in themselves highly probable, and may be received without much hesitation. They agree with all that we know of the state of religion among the Britons, whether in Cumbria or in Wales. Their bishops continued to be consecrated by those who possessed the apostolic commission to confer orders, although the same care was not observed as in the Latin Church regarding the number canonically requisite to give consecration. Glasgow, famous as the residence and burial place of Kentigern, became naturally the seat of the Cumbrian prelates, just as St. David's and Landaff for like reasons were honoured in Wales. The names of the bishops who resided at Glasgow have not been preserved, though, in this respect also, it does not differ much from other British sees. All, however, that we know with certainty is, that a line of bishops succeeded St. Kentigern in Cumbria. No native record remains to tell us more.¹

The position of Bishop John was a difficult one. The Archbishop of York claimed his obedience. Although there was really no good foundation for any subjection of the independent Bishop of Cumbria to either of the English metropolitans, the pretensions of York seem to have been generally viewed as just, even by those who, like Eadmer's correspondent Nicholas, were no way prejudiced in their favour. They had been expressly reserved at the consecration of John, and were enforced by successive rescripts addressed to that bishop by Pope Calixtus II. John, however, refused canonical obedience to Thurstan, the successor of Thomas, and was in consequence suspended by that metropolitan. Supported probably by Prince David, and by the clergy and people of Cumbria, the Bishop of Glasgow appealed to Pope Calixtus, and went to Rome in 1122 to defend his cause in person. The proceedings of the Roman court were protracted, as he thought,

¹ On the subject of Prince David's inquisition, compare the doubts of Sir James Dalrymple (Collections, p. 341-343) with the arguments on the other side of Thomas Innes (History, p. 135-139), and Mr. Cosmo Innes (Preface to the Chartulary of Glasgow, pp. xviii. xix., and Preface to the first volume of the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. xxiv.).

unnecessarily, and he again set out on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After a residence of some months in the holy city, he was enjoined by the Pope to return to his diocese. In obedience to that mandate, he came back to Scotland in 1123, but the result of his appeal is not known.¹

¹ Simeon of Durham—*Decem Scriptores*, pp. 245, 248. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 67. Letter of Pope Calixtus II. to Bishop John—*Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. pp. 1187, 1188.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONDITION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH DURING THE PRIMACY OF DUNKELD, AND THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF THE PRIMACY OF ST. ANDREWS.

Deficiency of information—Ecclesiastical Government—The Culdees—Controversy regarding the Culdees—Popular errors on this subject—Origin of the Culdees—Lay Abbots—Degeneracy of the Scottish Church—State of learning—Library at Lochleven—Authority of the Roman see—Celibacy of the Clergy—Culdees of St. Andrews—Invocation of Saints—Dedication of Churches—Celebration of the Eucharist—Culdee Monasteries—St. Andrews—Dunkeld—Abernethy—Lochleven—Brechin.

THE primacy of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, nearly corresponded in point of duration with the reign of King David. Under their administration, the changes which had been going on since the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret were for the most part carried out, and a new ecclesiastical system was established in Scotland. It will be convenient to pause before commencing the narrative of David's reign, and to give some account of the state of the Scottish Church during the three centuries which preceded his accession.

On a former occasion, when a similar survey was attempted of the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland under the primacy of Iona, reference was made to the difficulties which accompanied the enquiry from the want of authentic information, and from the controversial aspect in which the subject had generally been viewed. The same difficulties continue to attend the enquiry, and, in regard to deficiency of information, in a much greater degree than before.

Scanty as the materials are from which we have to derive our knowledge of the doctrines and discipline of St. Columba and his followers, those which illustrate the three centuries

subsequent to the transfer of the primacy from Iona are much more deficient. We have no Lives, like those of Cuminus and Adamnan, contemporary with the system which they describe ; no History, like Bede's, on which we can rely for a narrative at once authentic and minute. Not one record remains which enters at any length into the ecclesiastical state of Scotland at this time. All information must be derived from documents treating the subject incidentally, and written, in most cases, at a considerable distance of time from the events which they are used to illustrate. There is a marked contrast, in this respect, between the history of Ireland and that of Scotland. The former country possesses a series of annals, unrivalled in antiquity and accuracy, and of Lives, the details of which, if not so authentic, afford copious illustrations of the brief narrative of the chroniclers. It may seem singular that the people of Northern Britain are thus inferior to the Irish. The difference, if it cannot be entirely accounted for, may be explained to a certain extent.

Celtic Scotland never possessed the same amount of civilization for which Ireland was distinguished in those early ages. Its great monasteries—the chief abodes of ancient learning—were comparatively few in number, and there is no reason to suppose that their literary treasures at any time equalled those of the Irish houses. Had the deficiency regarded only documents in the Gaelic tongue, an explanation could more readily be given. The Anglo-Norman colonization of the eleventh and following centuries changed both the people and the language of the greater part of Scotland. This revolution was the more complete, because it was for the most part gradual and peaceful. The Celtic tribes, mixed with a superior race in the low country, or slowly retiring to the mountains of the north and west, had not even the inducements which cause a conquered people to cling more firmly to the traditions of their forefathers. The new colonists were to all intents a different nation, and displaced or absorbed the former inhabitants, resembling, in this point of view, the Saxon invaders of Southern Britain, rather than the Norman followers of the Conqueror. Ignorant of the speech, and despising the institutions of those who preceded them, they had neither the

inclination nor the ability to value the memorials preserved in the language of the Gael.

As these reasons would apply with less force to documents in the Latin tongue, a solution has been hazarded by some, that the Scots and Picts had no learning or literature whatever, except what they derived from the neighbouring nations in England and Ireland. This, however, is manifestly absurd. Inferior as the Scottish foundations may have been to the great monasteries of other countries, a certain amount of knowledge must have been preserved. Copies must have been made of the Scriptures and liturgical books, and Lives of the saints and chronicles must sometimes have been written. We know indeed, as a matter of fact, that this was so. In documents which still exist, we find reference occasionally made to writings in the ancient language of the Scots. One other explanation readily occurs. The oldest literary remains, especially those deposited at Iona, must have perished, for the most part, during the inroads of the Northmen. Many records were undoubtedly lost in consequence of the proceedings of Edward I. of England, although the extent of the injury may have been exaggerated. Still farther destruction took place during the storms of the sixteenth century.

The chief original authorities which remain are the documents relative to the Culdees and the old ecclesiastical system in the Chartularies, especially in those of St. Andrews and Arbroath; and the History of the Foundation of the Church of St. Andrews, written in the reign of David I. Of modern writers, I have principally consulted Jamieson on the one side, and Goodall and Russell on the other. Lanigan's disquisition on the Culdees, in the fourth volume of his Ecclesiastical History, and Mr. Joseph Robertson's treatise "On Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries," in the fifth volume of the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, have also been of great assistance in the enquiry.

The chief external change which marked the transfer of the primacy from Iona was the abandonment of that peculiar usage, whereby the presbyter-abbot, who sat in the chair of Columba, was the spiritual ruler of the Scots and Picts. This office was thenceforth attached, first to the Abbot or Abbot-Bishop of Dunkeld, and afterwards to the Bishop of St.

Andrews. The episcopate, at least from the translation of the primacy to St. Andrews, was no longer subjected to an inferior order; and Scotland, while continuing as before to be one diocese, had a bishop for its ecclesiastical governor. At St. Andrews, it would seem, the Culdees elected the primate; but the nomination was probably vested in the king. There is no sufficient evidence that papal confirmation was ever applied for. We are not informed by whom the Scottish primates were consecrated. In a letter formerly referred to, King Alexander I. says that the Bishops of St. Andrews received consecration of old from the Pope, or from the Archbishop of Canterbury; but no record exists which would enable us either to confirm or to reject this statement.¹

Under the primate, the chief authority in the Scottish Church was held by the bishops, abbots, and priors, who presided in the numerous monastic establishments. Most of the clergy were still members of these collegiate bodies, but, during the period which I am describing, they became in several respects very different from their Columbite predecessors. The change had probably begun while the primacy was held by Iona, and it was completed long before the era of King David's reformation. This change has been associated with the name and office of the Culdees, and it will be necessary, at the outset, to enquire who the persons were who became so remarkable under that appellation.

The popular belief on the point is well known. Although the fables of Boece have been banished from our civil history, they still maintain their ground in the annals of the Church. The Culdees, we are told even by writers of the present day, were a body of religious teachers, existing in Scotland from the first appearance of Christianity among us. They came from the East, before corruption had yet overspread the Church, and retained for many years their original purity of life, and their primitive simplicity of doctrine and discipline. Palladius strove without success to impose upon them the yoke of the hierarchy and of the see of Rome, and they received an important accession of strength when Columba arrived from Ireland. By that teacher and his followers the Culdee institute was vigorously upheld, and was extended over the

¹ See Eadmer, p. 90.

north of England. Yielding to their adversaries on the questions of Easter and the tonsure, the Scottish clergy, in other respects, continued to bear witness to the truth through ages of darkness. Holding Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, living under a form of government approaching to Presbyterian parity, rejecting Transubstantiation, the Invocation of Saints, Image worship, the Celibacy of the clergy, and other corruptions, the Culdees maintained their pure system to the last, and were suppressed only when King David, by a mixture of artifice and force, succeeded in overthrowing the ancient ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland, and in erecting the fabric of Roman superstition in its place.

The manifold errors and absurdities of this theory were discovered when a more careful historical criticism was applied to the elucidation of our ancient annals.

The fables which speak of the Culdees as a religious society or order existing under that name from the fifth century may be dismissed at once. It has already been seen what the true history of Palladius was, and what was the system established by Columba and his followers. To call the monks of Iona Culdees is wrong, because no writer of their own time speaks of them under that name, and because to do so perpetuates the error which identifies the religious teaching and institutions of the sixth and seventh centuries with those of the tenth. But to hold simply that the ancient Columbites were, in many instances, the direct predecessors of the Culdees, and that the rule of the former differed no otherwise, in most respects, from that of the latter, than a system in its original purity differs from the same system in its corruption, is not repugnant to authentic historical testimony, but rather receives confirmation from it. This opinion seems to be held by some of our most learned writers.¹

The derivation of the word "Culdees" has given rise to nearly as many conjectures as the nature of their ecclesiastical opinions and practices. It is sufficiently significant both in the Latin and in the Celtic tongue, and it is needless to pursue an investigation which can lead to no certain result.

¹ See Thomas Innes's *History*, pp. 191, 211, 331. See also Mr. Cosmo Innes's *Preface to the Chartulary of Aberdeen*, p. lxxx., and his *Preface to the Chartulary of Arbroath*, p. xxi.

The first mention of the word in any Scottish document, so far as I am aware, occurs in the Memoranda of grants to Lochleven, preserved in the Chartulary of St. Andrews, the earliest entry in which informs us that Brude, son of Dergard, the last king of the Picts, gave Lochleven to God, and St. Serf, and the Culdee hermits there.¹ We cannot tell the date of the original entry. It was no doubt considerably posterior to the grant itself, but the Gaelic record, in which it was contained, was evidently of unknown antiquity when the Augustinian priory was founded in the twelfth century. The grant of King Brude is followed by a series of donations to the Culdees of Lochleven from Scottish kings, and from Bishops of St. Andrews. Another document, preserved among the archives of the same priory, informs us that Constantine, son of Aodh, when he resigned the kingdom, became abbot of the Culdees of St. Andrews.²

The writers of these passages may possibly have anticipated the use of the name, in bestowing on the monks of Lochleven and St. Andrews the appellation which was familiar to themselves in their own day; but it is more probable that the Culdees were really known in Scotland by that title, at all events in the beginning of the tenth century.

Northern Britain was not the only seat of the Culdees; there were ecclesiastics, so named, in England, in Wales, and in Ireland. The canons of York were styled Culdees in the reign of Athelstane, and the secular clergy of the cathedrals generally seem to have been distinguished by the same title.³

¹ "Brude filius Dergard, qui ultimus regum Pictorum secundum antiquas traditiones fuisse recolitur, contulit insulam Lochlevine Deo Omnipotenti et Sancto Servano, et Keledeis Heremitis ibidem commorantibus, et Deo servientibus et servituris in illa insula." Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae, p. 113.

² "Hic, dimisso regno sponte, Deo in habitu religionis, abbas factus Keledeorum S. Andreae, quinque annis servivit, et ibi mortuus est et sepultus." Excerpta e Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae.—Innes's Critical Essay, p. 802.

³ History of the Foundation of St. Leonard's Hospital at York—Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. vi. p. 608. Charter of Ethelred II.—Wilkins's Concilia, vol. i. p. 284. The words of Ethelred's charter are: "Dei servitium passim nostra in gente a cultoribus clericis defleo extinctum et tepefactum." The narrative in the Monasticon has been generally received as correct; but Ethelred's charter is not free from suspicion. "The authenticity of the charter is questionable. It is subscribed by Ælfric in 1006, and the death of that prelate is assigned to 1005. (Chron. Sax. 134.) In the charter, the prebendaries are termed *Cultores* clerici, a singular expression, which seems to intimate that the collegiate clergy were

Giraldus Cambrensis says that there were Culdees in the island of Bardsey—the holy isle of Wales—unmarried, and living a most religious life. In Ireland, the Culdees had numerous establishments, and retained their name at Armagh down to the time of Archbishop Usher.¹

What appears to be the true origin of the Culdees in Scotland has already been indicated. The statements which speak of them before the time of Columba are absolutely fabulous, and no allusion is made to them either by Adamnan or by Bede.² But it may notwithstanding be reasonably inferred that the Culdees were generally the successors of the family of Iona and other monastic communities, under a new name, and with a relaxed discipline. It is not difficult to account for the altered appearance which the Scottish monasteries gradually assumed in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries. The same causes were at work in our country as in England; and the same events which secularized the English monasteries converted many of the Columbites into Culdees. The monastic institutions of the South were overwhelmed during the Danish invasions. The places of the monks were supplied by clergy, who were either not bound to any rule, or who did not submit to its restrictions; and worse abuses took place when the monasteries were seized by persons who discharged no ecclesiastical function whatever. Similar proceedings occurred in Scotland. There also the monasteries were repeatedly desolated by the Northmen. The communities were frequently broken up in consequence, and when their members came together again, they had learned to dislike the rigour of the ancient discipline. Many of the rules by which they had formerly been bound were thrown

even then styled *Culdees*—*cultores Dei*—in the South as well as the North of England.” (Lingard’s *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. 1845, vol. ii. p. 294.)

¹ Ware’s *Antiquities of Ireland*, ed. 1705, pp. 43, 44. Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 303-305.

² “It happens unluckily for this fanciful theory of the Culdees being derived from Columbkil that in none of the Lives of that saint, nor in Bede, who very often treats of the Columbian order and monks, nor in the whole history of the monastery of Hy, and of its dependencies, the name of Culdees, or any name tantamount to it, ever once occurs.” Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 296. This statement is substantially correct, although it appears from a document, to be afterwards mentioned, that there were Culdees in Iona at a later period of its history.

aside. Instead of living a monastic life within the precincts of the same establishment, they began to have separate dwellings entirely apart, and to have goods and possessions of their own. At the same time, powerful laymen, under various pretexts, acquired a great part of the endowments of the monasteries, and converted them into hereditary lordships. With the possessions, these usurpers also assumed the ecclesiastical titles. This corrupt system prevailed among all the nations of Western Europe, Celtic and Teutonic. The abbot-counts of the continent resembled the lay-abbots of the Scots; and just as a member of the royal house of France or one of the great nobles might have been known by the abbatial style of St Martin or St. Quentin, so with us a like position was held by the abbots of Dunkeld and of Abernethy.

The real nature of the change is farther marked by the circumstance that the Scottish Culdees entirely sympathized with the secular canons of England in their conflict with the restored monastic system of Dunstan. When the Council of Calne met in 977, a Scottish bishop, named Beornelm, famous for his genius and eloquence, was sent for to support the cause of the clergy.¹

The general features of the ecclesiastical system which existed in Scotland north of the Forth may be ascertained with considerable distinctness. The Bishop of St. Andrews occupied the place formerly filled by the Abbot of Iona. As before, there was no division into dioceses or parishes. The rites of the Church were administered, and religious instruction was communicated, by means of the numerous colleges of priests, whether Culdees or otherwise, existing throughout the kingdom. The name of abbot, in the course of time, became appropriated to the laymen who had seized the lands of the chief monasteries. The real ecclesiastical superiors were styled priors, and under them was a society of priests,

¹ Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 112. Our old writers claimed for their own country any person of eminence who was called a Scot, although Ireland had in most instances the better right. But in the present case there is no good reason to doubt that Beornelm was a bishop from Northern Britain. Osbern wrote towards the end of the eleventh century, when the name of Scot generally bore the meaning which it now has. And in the same work, when mentioning Dunstan's education at Glastonbury, he refers to the Irish by their proper appellation of Hiberni.

who, like the monks in Columba's time, were frequently twelve in number. In the ordinary ritual of the Church, there was probably no greater change than what always takes place when an age of fervour degenerates into one of coldness and indifference. The forms were the same, but the celebration of the services was less frequent, and there was less devotion in the ministers. The religious communities were supported as before by the lands which belonged to them, and by the oblations of the people. As tithes were yet unknown in Celtic Scotland, and as a great portion of the territorial endowments had been wrested from their rightful owners, the clergy must in many instances have depended on the voluntary offerings of the faithful.

There is no reason to believe that all the Scottish monasteries were seats of the Culdees. It is probable that in some of them the old religious system was kept up. Iona appears to have adhered in a great measure to the institutes of its founder, and its superior retained his proper name of abbot. There was indeed a Culdee community in the island under its own head; but it was subordinate to the successor of Columba, and was probably established at a late period, as we hear of its existence only in the twelfth century.¹

Besides the Culdees in their colleges and the monks in their cells, there were, no doubt, members of the clerical order scattered throughout the country, celebrating the sacred offices in remote churches and chapels, and preparing the way for the establishment of parishes, as the others did for the erection of cathedrals and abbeys. During the Danish invasions when the monasteries were the chief objects of attack, the religious houses no longer afforded the protection which they formerly gave, and the solitary residence of the individual priest may have at first been adopted for the purposes of safety.

Besides all these, there were also the Hermits and Anchorites. An order of hermits existed among the Culdees, as is evident from the documents preserved in relation to Lochleven; but distinguished from them were the proper Anchorites, who continued to be strict and self-denying even during the laxity

¹ See quotation from the MS. Annals of Ulster for the year 1164, in Mr. Robertson's treatise on Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church—Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. pp. 73, 74.

of the eleventh century.¹ By means of the anchorites it is probable that the knowledge and practice of Christianity was kept up in many secluded districts, where otherwise the old heathenism might have again prevailed. They were the successors of the solitaries who in the time of Columba sailed to the remote islands of the ocean in search of a religious retreat; and they continued to be numerous in Scotland long after the Culdee institutions had fallen into decay.

Whatever may have been the labours of the collegiate clergy and monks, of the priests and hermits, the Scottish Church had degenerated greatly from its former condition. Columba and his successors were unremitting in their endeavours to convert the heathen. The clergy of the following ages were content, for the most part, to preserve their own traditional system, and hardly made an effort, so far as appears, to enter into communication with the inhabitants of other lands. Most of the missionaries of this period who are spoken of under the name of Scots were undoubtedly Irish. We hear of no natives of Northern Britain who attained distinction beyond the limits of their own country, except Cadroe and Beornelm. The only instance of successful missionary labours among the Scots was the conversion of their Norse invaders in the Orkneys and Hebrides, which will afterwards be related. The Columbites possessed all the learning of their age, and strove to impart its treasures to others. But their schools decayed with the monasteries in which they were established, and the Celtic Church never recovered its love of learning and its ancient discipline. A partial restoration was effected by St. Cadroe,² and from his time some attention was paid to the religious instruction of the people. In the monas-

¹ The following is the account given of them by Turgot: "*Quo tempore in regno Scottorum, plurimi per diversa loca separatis inclusi cellulis, per magnam vitæ districtionem, in carne non secundum carnem vivebant. Angelicam enim in terris conversationem ducebant. In his Regina Christum venerari, diligere, suoque crebrius adventu et alloquio visitare, atque illorum se precibus satagebat commendare. Et cum non impetrare posset ut ab ea terrenum aliquid vellent accipere, petebat obnixius, ut ei aliquid eleemosynæ vel misericordiæ faciendum dignarentur præcipere. Nec mora; quidquid illorum voluntatis erat devota implevit: vel pauperes ab egestate recreando, vel quosque afflictos a miseriis quibus oppressi fuerunt relevando.*" Vita Margaretæ, c. iii. 19.

² See Vita B. Cadroe, cc. xii. xiv.

teries there were persons whose special duty it was to educate the young. The Celtic scribe or scholastic was the predecessor of the master of the schools in the reformed Church of St. David.¹

In the dearth of other information regarding the amount of learning possessed by the Scottish clergy, one document which remains is peculiarly interesting. When Bishop Robert bestowed the possessions of Lochleven on the Canons-Regular of St. Andrews, the books belonging to the monastery were specially included. These volumes were, in the order mentioned in the grant, a Pastoral, a Gradual, a Missal, the works, or more probably a portion of the works, of Origen, the Sentences of St. Bernard, a Treatise on the Sacraments in three divisions, a part of the Bible, a Lectionary, the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospels, the works of Prosper, the Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, a Gloss on the Canticles, a work called "*Interpretationes Dictionum*," a Collection of Sentences, a Commentary on Genesis, and a Treatise on the Exceptions from Ecclesiastical Rules.² This list, scanty as it is, probably affords a favourable specimen of the acquirements of the Culdees. Lochleven was one of the oldest and wealthiest of their foundations, and was no doubt better provided with books than most others. Some of these works

¹ See the treatise on Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church. It may be doubted whether Mr. Robertson has succeeded in proving the existence of a scholastic hierarchy in three distinct orders, each discharging its particular duties, but he has collected, within the compass of a few pages, more authentic and valuable information respecting a very obscure portion of our history, than is to be found in any other quarter whatever. See also, in regard to the scribe or scholastic in the Irish Church, Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 631, 632, and Reeves' *Down, Connor, and Dromore*, pp. 149, 150, as quoted and referred to by Mr. Robertson, *ibid.* p. 72.

² See Bishop Robert's grant in the Chartulary of St. Andrews, p. 43. The part referred to is as follows:—*Et cum his libris, id est, cum Pastoralibus, Gradualibus, Missalibus, Origine, Sententiis Abbatiss Clarevallensis, tribus quaternionibus de Sacramentis, cum parte Bibliothecæ, cum Lectionario, cum Actibus Apostolorum, textu Evangeliorum, Prospero, tribus libris Salomonis, glosis de Canticis Canticorum, Interpretationibus dictionum, Collectione Sententiarum, expositione super Genesim, exceptionibus Ecclesiasticarum regularum.*" In regard to the names of the books, see Mr. Cosmo Innes's Preface to the Chartulary, p. xvi., and his *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, pp. 333, 334; and Dr. Jamieson's *Historical Account of the Culdees*, pp. 377, 378. I have, in a few instances, given a different translation from that which is adopted by either of these authorities.

were probably obtained during the reigns of Malcolm Canmore and his sons ; one of them, the work of St. Bernard, was certainly a recent acquisition.

Something may now be said respecting the doctrines held by the Culdees, and the Scottish Church generally, from the ninth to the twelfth century. As already mentioned, an attempt has been made to shew that the religious opinions of our countrymen at this time differed in various important points from those professed by the see of Rome ; but there is no evidence whatever that such was the case. Reference may be made to what was formerly stated in regard to the doctrines of the Scottish Church during the primacy of Iona. These were still maintained in all essential respects ; but, in addition to them, several erroneous and superstitious opinions had become prevalent, of the same nature generally with those which were common in other parts of the Church. The remote and isolated position of Northern Britain rather added to these evils. Besides what they shared along with others, the ignorance and seclusion of the Scots exposed them to abuses peculiar to themselves.

In another respect, also, a change had taken place. The old, independent position in regard to the supremacy of Rome was now abandoned. Although they had possessed the inclination, the clergy were wholly deficient in the learning and ability necessary to defend themselves against the pretensions of the papacy. Even the wish, however, was wanting. The national animosities of race and country would have been roused at any time, by an attempt on the part of Canterbury or York to extend its metropolitan jurisdiction over Scotland ; and, if it had been proposed to bring back the former rigour of the monastic system, the Culdees would have resisted, as did the secular canons in England ; but there was no jealousy or dislike of Rome. The more strict and religious any individual was, or professed to be, the more probable was it that he would seek a closer union with the chief see of the West. When St. Cadroe left his own land, he seemed to find his proper place among the Benedictine monks of the continent ; when Macbeth wished to make men forget by what steps he had reached the throne, he went on pilgrimage to Rome as the best means of attaining his object.

The notion that the Scottish Church, at this time, was firmly opposed to the usurpations of the papacy, though untenable in itself, appears to find some support in the circumstance that, so far as the existing records shew, there was little actual intercourse with Rome. There is no such excuse for the assertion that the Culdees also repudiated the authority of bishops. It was fully explained, on a former occasion, to what extent the Scots, under the primacy of Iona, differed from the rest of Christendom in regard to ecclesiastical government. That difference still subsisted, in so far as there was no territorial episcopacy. But the most remarkable feature of the old system was removed. A bishop, not a simple presbyter, was now the Primate. In other respects there is nothing whatever to countenance the notion that the exclusive privileges of the episcopate, recognised by the whole Christian world, were unknown or rejected in Scotland, or that a system of government prevailed similar to what was afterwards established in the sixteenth century. Nowhere do we find any jealous apprehension of the prerogatives of the episcopate, or any interference with its proper functions. Had such been the case, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned by the Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics of the twelfth century, who were ready enough to point out and condemn the faults of the Celtic clergy.

It has likewise been supposed that the Culdees witnessed to a purer belief and practice in respect of the Celibacy of the clergy, the Invocation of Saints, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Writers of all classes of opinion have generally taken it for granted that the Scottish Culdees were married. I am not aware, however, of any evidence which can be adduced in support of this statement, except what is contained in Mylne's *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*, and in the *History of the Foundation of the Church of St. Andrews*. Mylne tells us that the Culdees of Dunkeld and St. Andrews had wives, according to the custom of the Eastern Church, and that they practised abstinence while they ministered in their course.¹ But the unsupported

¹ "In quo quidem monasterio imposuit viros religiosos, quos nominavit vulgus Keledeos, aliter Colideos, hoc est, colentes Deum; habentes tamen secundum Orientalis Ecclesiæ ritum conjuges, a quibus, dum vicissim ministrarunt, abstine-

authority of a writer of the sixteenth century, the early portions of whose work are full of mistakes, is of little weight in proof of what took place in the tenth or eleventh century. This objection, however, does not apply to the author of the "History." He states that there were thirteen Culdees at St. Andrews, holding their office by hereditary tenure, and living rather according to their own pleasure, and the traditions of men, than agreeably to the rules of the holy fathers. Some few things of little importance they possessed in common; but the rest, including what was of most value, they held as their private property, each enjoying what he got from relatives and kinsmen, or from the benevolence granted on the tenure of pure friendship, or otherwise. After they became Culdees they were not allowed to keep their wives in their houses, nor any other women who could be at all exposed to suspicion.¹

This implies that the Culdees of St. Andrews may have been married before they entered the order, but shews also that, when they did join it, they were obliged to part with their wives, although they retained their property.

The narrative then proceeds to mention that the oblations

bant; sicut postea in ecclesia Beati Reguli, nunc Sancti Andreæ, consuetum tunc fuit." *Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum*, ed. 1831, p. 4.

¹ "Habebantur tamen in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem, quos Keledeos appellant, qui secundum suam æstimationem, et hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta patrum, vivebant. Sed et adhuc similiter vivunt, et quædam habent communia, pauciora scilicet et deteriora; quædam vero propria, plura scilicet et potiora; prout quisque ab amicis suis aliqua necessitudine ad se pertinentibus, videlicet consanguineis et affinibus, vel ab iis quorum animæ charæ sunt, quod est, amicitiarum amici, sive aliis quibuslibet modis, poterat quid adipisci. Postquam Keledei effecti sunt, non licet eis habere uxores suas in domibus suis, sed nec alias de quibus mala oriatur suspicio mulieres." *Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 463. Two corrections of Pinkerton's text have been adopted from the Bollandists, "amicitiarum" for "amiciarum," and "mulieres" for "mulieris." The latter is obviously necessary to the sense. The former seems to throw some light on a sentence which is still very obscure. See *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris, vol. viii. p. 477, and *Du Cange*, v. "Amicitia." The meaning of another expression, which has been sometimes misunderstood, is correctly explained by Lanigan. "There were in St. Andrew's church, such as it then was, thirteen persons, per successionem carnalem, who were called Keledei, that is, not thirteen married successions of Culdees, as Toland explains the words, but thirteen Culdees who got their places by inheritance from their relatives. Whether the author meant inheritance from their fathers, or from their uncles, cousins, &c., cannot be determined." (*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 314.)

at the altar were divided into seven portions, whereof one belonged to the bishop, one to the hospital, and the others to five "personæ," who discharged no ecclesiastical duties whatever, and who were only bound to entertain strangers and pilgrims when these were more than six in number. The "personæ," at their decease, left not only their proper lands and possessions to their wives, whom they openly kept, and to their children and other relatives, but even bequeathed the oblations at the altar in the same way.¹ These abuses were finally suppressed by the zeal of King David, who restored to the Church the oblations which laics, men and women, had previously appropriated.²

The narrative is not free from difficulties, but the true meaning seems to be that the five "personæ," or parsons, were laymen, entirely distinct from the thirteen Culdees; and that it is a mistake to ascribe to the latter what is said in reference only to the former. This meaning may be gathered from the passages quoted, and from an examination of the import of the whole account. There is a marked difference between the Culdees, who were obliged to separate from their wives, and who discharged ecclesiastical duties, though irregularly, and the parsons, who openly retained their wives, and performed no clerical offices whatever. In the various writs relating to this point in the Chartulary of St. Andrews, the "personæ" are always called by that name. They are on no occasion styled "Keledei."

¹ "Personæ nihilominus septem fuerunt, oblationes altaris inter se dividentes, quarum septem portionum unam tantum habebat episcopus; et hospitale unam; quinque vero reliquæ in quinque cæteros dividebantur, qui nullum omnino altari vel ecclesiæ impendebant servitium, præterquam peregrinos et hospites, cum plures quam sex adventarunt, more suo hospitio suscipiebant, sortem mittentes quis quos vel quot reciperet. Hospitale sane semper sex et infra suscipiebat." "Personæ autem supra memoratæ redditus et possessiones proprias habebant, quas cum e vita decederent uxores eorum, quas publice tenebant, filii quoque vel filiæ, propinqui vel generi, inter se dividebant, nihilominus altaris oblationes cui non deserviebant, quod puduisset dicere, si non libuisset eis facere." Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 463. Some obvious mistakes in Pinkerton's text and punctuation have again been corrected.

² "Domino cooperante, et proximo rege David annuente, oblationes in manibus laicorum tam virorum quam mulierum exceptæ in usus ecclesiæ sunt receptæ." Ibid. p. 465. These oblations were afterwards given by Bishop Robert and his successors to the Canons-Regular of St. Andrews. See Regist. Priorat. S. Andree, pp. 123, 125, 129.

In the absence of farther positive testimony, it is also a strong argument against the lawfulness of marriage among the Culdees that Turgot, in his *Life of St. Margaret*, does not specify clerical marriages among the corruptions of the Scottish Church, although, probably, he would not have failed to do so had they been an understood part of the ecclesiastical system.¹

The assertion that the Invocation of Saints was rejected by the Culdees, or by the clergy generally, would require the best evidence to establish it; for it was formerly shewn that the practice had existed in Scotland, at least as early as the time of Adamnan.² There is every reason to believe that, instead of being abandoned, it had by degrees come much nearer to the form which it finally assumed in the Latin Church.³

With this subject another is generally mixed up, that of the Dedication of Churches. It is alleged that the Culdee churches were not named from saints, but only from the Holy Trinity. This also is incorrect, although the old Celtic usage of preferring the saints of their own race was still kept up among the Scots. Thus the church of Lochleven was dedicated to St. Serf, and that, in which St. Cadroe offered up his devotions on his journey southwards, to St. Bride. The Scots, as is well known, likewise shewed peculiar reverence to the saints in the choice of their own Christian names.⁴

¹ The argument from the silence of Turgot is stronger, since, as formerly mentioned, he notices certain abuses connected with the marriage of laymen which then existed in Scotland. The marriage of the Culdees could not have been one of the other practices, contrary to the rule of faith and the canons of the Church, referred to by him, in addition to those which he names; for these other practices were suppressed by Queen Margaret, while we know that the Culdee rule in this respect, whatever it was, remained unaltered.

² See *supra*, p. 150.

³ The Scottish practice in the tenth century with regard to the Invocation of Saints, and the reverence paid to their relics, is illustrated by the following passages:—"Post multa Sanctorum suffragia, quæ ad piissimas Dei Omnipotentis aures admovebat, Beati Columbani, cum viro suo, adivit merita, nec suo voto est frustrata." "Tunc clamor populi attollitur, et Sanctorum reliquiis ante eum positis, eorum obtestatione ut sibi adquiesceret rogabant. Ille vero, Si ad hoc, ait, Sanctorum reliquias attulistis, ut me a voluntatis proposito compesceretis, mecum eorum suffragia petite, ut utrum viam Salutis ingressus sim, dignentur ostendere." (*Vita B. Cadroe*, cc. vi. xvi.)

⁴ "Malpedir is the follower of Peter, or one devoted to his service. Thus Malcolm is the follower of Columba, and Malbride the follower of Bridget." Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 53.

It has farther been asserted that the Culdees differed from the Roman Church in their opinions and practice regarding the Eucharist ; and a passage in the History of the Foundation of the Church of St. Andrews is relied on in proof of this.¹ We are there told that mass was not celebrated at the altar, except on the rare occasion of a visit from the king or the bishop, and that the Culdees said their own office, after their own fashion, in a corner of the church. While this does not shew in any way whether they believed or rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation, it does imply that the members of the order at St. Andrews were very negligent in their religious duties. Taken by itself, it would not warrant a charge of similar neglect as applicable to the whole Scottish Church ; but, from what Turgot mentions respecting the abstinence from communion, and the barbarous rites used at the Eucharistic service,² it is to be feared that serious errors were very prevalent in the celebration of that sacrament. The Culdee clergy were not purer than their neighbours in matters of doctrine, but their ritual was more corrupt, and their practice, in various points, was more superstitious and erroneous.

Had the Scottish clergy really held the opinions which have been ascribed to them, it is not likely that they would have abandoned their belief without a struggle. But there is no trace of doctrinal differences of any kind. The possession of portions of the Old and New Testament by the Hermits of Lochleven does not more surely attest their reception of the Holy Scriptures, than does the appearance among their books of the Missal and Gradual shew that their creed was substantially the same with that of the Western Church and the see of Rome. This is farther confirmed by the express testimony of Queen Margaret, which shews that the difference with Rome was in ritual, not in belief.³

¹ "Non enim erat qui Beati Apostoli altari deserviret, nec ibi missa celebrabatur, nisi cum rex vel episcopus illo advenerat, quod raro contigebat. Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant." Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 464.

² Vita Margarete. c. ii. 15, 16.

³ "Regina, præfatione præmissa, ut qui cum Catholica Ecclesia, in una fide, uni Deo servirent, ab eadem Ecclesia novis quibusdam et peregrinis institutionibus discrepare non deberent ; primum proposuit, &c."—Vita Margarete, c. ii. 14. What is afterwards said about practices contrary to the rule of faith and

In one respect, we possess fuller information regarding the Scottish Church under the primacy of St. Andrews, than we have in the earlier portion of its annals. We know the names of many of the monasteries, and, in some instances, are acquainted with particular details in their history.

The great religious establishments which existed in the middle of the ninth century were still kept up in the beginning of the twelfth, and, with the exception of Iona, were all seats of the Culdees. As already stated, the Culdees are named at a very early period of our history in connection with St. Andrews. The superior of this, as of the other chief monasteries, was styled abbot. The only names of the old abbots which have been preserved are those of Tuathalan, who died in 742, and of King Constantine, who died in 953. Johnstone, in his *Extracts from the Annals of Ulster*, mentions under the year 872 a Bishop Colman, Abbot of Aondris, which, he conjectures, may be St. Andrews. The correctness of this entry was doubted by Jamieson,¹ and his suspicions are well founded. It refers in reality to Colman, bishop, scribe, and abbot of Nendrum, in Ulster.² St. Andrews, like most of the other Culdee establishments, came into the possession of laymen, who assumed the title of abbot. Ewen the abbot, one of the witnesses to a charter of Bishop Richard, and the abbot of the Culdees, who attests a contract between Bishop Hugh and Duncan, Earl of Fife, both in the latter half of the twelfth century, were probably the secular holders of the abbey lands.³ After this usurpation was begun, the spiritual superior was styled prior, and under him were twelve Culdees.

The possessions of the monastery of Dunkeld were wrested from the Church, probably about the time that it ceased to be the primatial seat. Those who afterwards bore the name of abbots of Dunkeld, were not priests but laymen. Of this class were Dunchad, who fell in battle with King Duff;

the canons of the Church, "*contra fidei regulam, et ecclesiasticarum observationum instituta,*" is clearly not applicable to matters of doctrine, strictly so called.

¹ *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, p. 151.

² *Annals of Ulster—Rerum Hibern. Script.* vol. iv. p. 231. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 517. Reeves' Down, Connor, and Dromore, p. 149.

³ *Regist. Priorat. S. Andree*, pp. 133, 153. *Treatise on Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church—Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. p. 64.

Crinan, the father of King Duncan; and Ethelred, son of Malcolm Canmore.

The ancient Scottish foundation of Abernethy also became a Culdee house. The greater part of its extensive endowments fell into the hands of hereditary lay-abbots, of whom Orm, son of Hugh, Laurence, son of Orm, and Patrick, son of Laurence, appear in immediate succession in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The religious duties were discharged by a prior and his college of priests.¹

The monastery of the Culdee Hermits of St. Serf, at Lochleven, has been repeatedly mentioned. The superior, in early times, was styled abbot. There was a close connection between this house and the primatial seat of St. Andrews, originating, no doubt, in the agreement between Bishop Fothad and the abbot Ronan, formerly referred to. Among the grants to Lochleven there were churches as well as lands; the former being given by the Bishops of St. Andrews.²

Brechin, the royal foundation of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, remained a seat of the Culdees till they were gradually merged in the secular canons who composed the chapter of the bishopric founded by King David. The prior and Culdees were themselves the first chapter of Brechin. The lands, as usual, were held by lay-abbots, of whom Leod, and his grandson Donald, John, son of Malise, and Morgrund, son of John, are mentioned by name in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³

Besides the establishments which have been referred to, monasteries, either connected with the Culdee institute, or of a different rule, were to be found in all the Scottish provinces. The names of a considerable number have been preserved, but

¹ *Registrum vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 26, 148. *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*, pp. 132, 268. *Treatise on Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church—Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. p. 63.

² See *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*, p. 113-117. So likewise, of old, churches belonged to the see of St. Kentigern, and to the monasteries of Iona and Mortlach. See *Chartulary of Glasgow*, p. 5, *Charters of Holyrood*, p. 41, and *Chartulary of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 6. See also *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i. preface, pp. xxxi. xxxii.

³ *Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 8. *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*, pp. 118, 182. *Registrum vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 7, 48, 130, 131, 133, 163.

there must have been many more of which no record or memorial remains.¹

¹ "The Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc—besides notices of the great 'comharbas' of Abernethy and Brechin, of whom we have accounts elsewhere—preserves traces more or less complete of the old monasteries or hereditary lay-abbots of Monyfeith (pp. 34, 82, 190, 278, 330, 331)—of Old Montrose (pp. 4, 67)—of Arbirlot (pp. 29, 32, 47)—of Edzell, doubtless the abbey in Glenesk founded by St. Drostan (pp. 47-49)—and perhaps of Kinef (p. 47). In the Registrum Prioratus S. Andreae, we have Rossin (pp. 55, 126, 200)—Ecclesgirth (pp. 27, 229, 234, 238)—Kilgouerin (p. 334)—and Dull (pp. 295, 296), of which we have much elsewhere. The Liber Insule Missarum, that is, Inchaffray, gives us Madderty (pp. 15, 26, 71-78). In the Registrum de Dunfermelyn, we have Dunkeld (pp. 6, 20, 29, 41, 47), which meets us also in many other places—and Kirkmichael, in Strathardle (p. 144). The Liber Ecclesiae S. Trinitatis de Seon supplies Kilsbindy (p. 53). We find Mortlach and Cloveth in the Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis (vol. i. pp. 6, 85). The Liber Cartarum S. Crucis de Edwinesburg, besides furnishing Melginch (pp. 38, 53, 54, 177), and Falkirk (pp. 79, 83)—the abbey whence St. Modan converted the Scots dwelling on the Forth—shews that about the year 1175, even Iona itself was, wholly or in part, in the lay possession of the King of the Scots (p. 41). From other records we might add to this list Ratho, Kinghorn, Kettins, Blair in Gowrie, Glendochart, Kilmun, Applecross, Lesmahago, Govan, and perhaps Selkirk and Dornoch." Mr. Joseph Robertson's article on Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals—Quarterly Review, vol. lxxxv. pp. 117, 118. The Book of Deer, a MS., it would seem, partly of the ninth, partly of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, lately discovered at Cambridge, shews that the monastery founded by St. Congan at Turreff in Aberdeenshire survived the beginning of the twelfth century. The "Abbot of Turreff" and the "Ferleigin of Turreff", appear as witnesses to charters of the reign of King Alexander I. or of King David I. As to the functions of the "ferleigin," see Treatise on Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church—Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONVERSION OF THE NORWEGIANS IN SCOTLAND.

Ecclesiastical influence of the Norwegians in Scotland—Possessions of the Norwegians—Sigurd, Earl of Orkney—Thorfin, Earl of Orkney—Account of St. Magnus—His early life—His contest with Earl Haco—His death—Ronald, Earl of Orkney—Foundation of the Cathedral of Kirkwall—Early Bishops of Orkney—Conversion of the Isle of Man—Early Bishops of Man.

IN the course of the previous narrative, reference has frequently been made to the ravages of the Northmen, and to the wars between them and the Scottish kings. From the spoiling of Iona in the beginning of the ninth century to the battle of Largs in the middle of the thirteenth, Scandinavian history is intimately connected with our own; and, though after the defeat of Haco no attempt was made to invade Scotland from the shores of Norway, the intercourse between the two countries continued to be close and frequent. The ecclesiastical influence of the Norwegians was also important. To them we owe two of our dioceses; and by them was founded one of the noblest of our cathedrals—the only one, except Glasgow, which still remains complete.

A History of Christianity in Northern Britain would be imperfect without some account of its introduction among the Scandinavian colonists. I have no materials for giving such an account in any fullness of detail, and the notices which follow are scanty and imperfect.

The expeditions of the Scandinavians were made for many years with the purpose of plunder rather than of conquest, but before the end of the ninth century they began to establish themselves in the islands of the Scottish seas. All these invaders and colonists are generally spoken of by our writers under the common name of Danes, although, in strict propriety of language, they were for the most part of Norwegian

descent. Orkney and Zetland, which they retained after all else was lost, were probably their earliest acquisitions. These islands were originally inhabited by the same Pictish race which possessed the rest of Northern Britain. According to the tradition of the middle ages, they were converted to Christianity by St. Serf, but it is more probable that they remained heathen till the time of Columba. There can be no doubt that monks from Iona preached the Gospel among them. This is attested by intimations in the early Lives of Saints, and by traditions and memorials of which traces are even now to be found.

From Orkney the sea-kings spread themselves over the Hebrides. Sailing from thence they not only ravaged the coasts of Britain and Ireland, but made frequent plundering expeditions to Norway itself. Either for the purpose of checking these inroads, or to extend his own power and dominion, Harold Harfager, King of Norway, in the beginning of the tenth century, sailed to the Scottish seas, and subdued both the Orkneys and Hebrides. Over these islands he placed his earls as governors; and they and their descendants continued to rule for centuries, sometimes in absolute independence, sometimes acknowledging vassalage, more or less complete, to the Kings of Norway.

The islands were the chief seat of the Northmen, but they seized also a portion of the Scottish territory on the mainland. Caithness and Sutherland were long annexed to the earldom of Orkney; and at times the Norse possessions were extended along the eastern coast as far as the Murray Frith. Some late writers have maintained, on the authority of the Sagas, that on more than one occasion the whole northern parts of Scotland were subjected to the Norwegians, or erected into a separate kingdom dependent on them. These statements are opposed to the earlier and better authority of our chroniclers, and may be viewed in much the same light as the fables regarding the English supremacy beyond the Forth, or the Scottish legends of great victories won by our kings in England.

The destruction of monasteries and the persecution of the clergy by the heathen Danes were as prejudicial to religion and learning in Scotland, as they were in Southern Britain; and

to this circumstance may be ascribed, in a considerable degree, the great corruption which prevailed in the Scottish Church. But the Columbites had not yet lost all their original fervour. They strove to avert the calamity as became Christians. While themselves exposed to constant peril, they undertook the task of converting their persecutors. It was a slow and difficult work, and its success would apparently have been imperfect, if assistance had not come from Norway itself. In the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, King Olave Tryggvasson, and King Olave the Saint, had succeeded in establishing Christianity in the greater part of their kingdom; and they exerted themselves also in converting the Northmen in the Orkneys. Before the middle of the eleventh century, it is probable that all the Norwegians in the islands and mainland of Scotland made, at least, an outward profession of the Christian religion.¹

Sigurd the Stout was Earl of Orkney towards the end of the tenth century. He was one of the most famous of those island chiefs, and according to the Sagas was married to a daughter

¹ In regard to the Scandinavian dominions in Scotland, see Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 293-304; and Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 340-348. See also the portion of Worsaae's volume in which he treats of "The Norwegians in Scotland." This Danish writer does full justice to the missionary labours of the Scottish clergy. Mr Skene's work on the *Highlanders of Scotland* (part i. c. 5) contains an account of the Norse kingdom said to have been established at three different times—from 894 to 900—from 986 to 993—and from 1034 to 1064. I have also consulted the Sagas in the extracts given by Mr Skene in the *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, and in Mr Laing's translation of the *Heimskringla*, or *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, by Snorro Sturleson. Mr Laing's enthusiasm for every thing Scandinavian leads him to exaggerate the merits of the Sagas, in comparison with the Latin chronicles. So far as the historical value of the two classes of works is concerned, a more correct estimate is made by Lappenberg. Referring to the Welsh Triads, he says, (*Literary Introduction*, p. xxvii):—"When we think of these and of similar Scandinavian compositions, the full worth of the love of truth, pervading our modest monkish chronicles, cannot fail most forcibly to strike us. Servile as that faithfulness may appear; easily as the earnestness and the strength of belief may be mistaken, which by the old chroniclers were esteemed the greatest virtues; absurd as the accuracy is with which they copy, without the omission of a syllable, every word of a predecessor; and although as from virtue a vice may spring, so from their dull fidelity the most insipid pedantry and grossest falsehood may grow and often has grown; yet to that schoolboy fidelity alone are we indebted for a chronological clew through the labyrinth of the middle age, the bridge, as it were, which connects the old with the new world over the rushing, ever agitated, sparkling waves of the stream of time."

of Malcolm II.¹ The Scottish writers mention no other child of that sovereign, besides Bethoc, the mother of Duncan, but the Norse statement may be held to be correct. Sigurd was Earl of Caithness and Sutherland, as well as of Orkney. He is said to have embraced Christianity under circumstances characteristic of his age and nation. King Olave Tryggvasson, landing in Orkney, made the earl prisoner, and gave him the choice of becoming a Christian or of losing his life; and Sigurd took the former alternative.² Having gone to the assistance of his countrymen in Ireland, the "dauntless earl" fell in the great battle of Clontarf.

Thorfin, son of Sigurd, was left under the protection of his grandfather, King Malcolm, who put him in possession of Caithness and Sutherland. When he grew up to manhood, he emulated the fame of his father. It is to him that the Sagas ascribe the conquest of the greater part of Scotland, but, though this is an evident exaggeration, his dominions were undoubtedly extensive, and, besides his earldoms on the mainland, probably included Orkney, Zetland, and most of the Hebrides. Thorfin was professedly a Christian, but religion had little influence over him in the early part of his life. With advanced years came reflection and penitence. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, and is said to have received absolution from the Pope. On his return he built Christ Church at Birsá, on the Mainland of Orkney,³ and died in peace in 1064.

Thorfin left two sons, Paul and Erlend, who ruled the islands together in great harmony. These earls joined Harold Hadrada, King of Norway, and Tostig, son of Godwin, in their invasion of England. They escaped from the battle of Stamford-bridge, and returned to Orkney. Paul had a son named Haco; and Erlend, by his wife Thora, who was also descended from one of the most illustrious families in the isles, had two sons, Magnus and Erlend. The early years of Magnus were marked by many virtues. He was pious, humble,

¹ Orkneyinga Saga—Collectanea de rebus Albanicis, p. 339.

² Ibid. p. 340. King Olave Tryggvasson's Saga—Heimskringla, vol. i. p. 418. See also *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia—Vita Magni*, c. i.

³ *Vita Magni*, c. xxviii. Orkneyinga Saga—Collectanea de rebus Albanicis, p. 346.

obedient to his parents and teachers, and kind and courteous to all. But, when he approached to manhood, he associated with evil companions, and was by them led into various excesses.¹ Dissensions broke out among the sons of Erlend and Paul; and induced, it is said, by Haco, Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, came to Orkney in 1098. He established his supremacy there, and sent the earls prisoners to his own kingdom. Taking with him the young Erlend, Magnus, and Haco, he sailed along the western coast of Scotland, and compelled all the island lords to submit to his rule. He shewed his reverence for the memory of St. Columba by protecting the inhabitants of Iona.² Proceeding southwards, he is said to have subdued Cantyre and part of Galloway. He entrusted the government of all these dominions to his son Sigurd, afterwards the famous Crusader.

Continuing his course, the Norse king fought a sea fight in the Sound of Anglesea. When the battle was about to begin, the youthful Magnus, unarmed, took his accustomed seat on the deck of the royal galley. The king enquired why he did so. "No man here," he replied, "has done me wrong, and therefore I will not fight." "Get you down below," said the king, "do not remain in our way if you will not help us; I put no trust in the reason you assign." Magnus stirred not from the spot, but taking up his Psalter recited it as long as the battle lasted. Many fell around him, but he remained unhurt.³

Magnus, finding that his conduct was strongly resented by the king, watched for an opportunity to escape. He effected his purpose while the Norwegian galleys were at anchor on the

¹ Vita Magni, cc. ii. vi.

² "King Magnus came with his forces to the Holy Island, and gave peace and safety to all men there. It is told that the king opened the door of the little Columba's kirk there, but did not go in, but instantly locked the door again, and said that no man should be so bold as to go into that church hereafter, which has been the case ever since." Magnus Barefoot's Saga—Heimskringla, vol. iii. p. 130.

³ Vita Magni, c. vii. See also Magnus Barefoot's Saga—Heimskringla, vol. iii. pp. 131, 132. The Norse authorities make Magnus successful in the battle, and describe his opponents as two British or Welsh earls; but these chiefs were, in reality, the Norman Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, and the result of the engagement was probably doubtful. See Malmesbury, lib. iv. cd. Hardy, p. 506, and Hoveden—Scriptores post Bedam, p. 467.

Scottish coast, and betook himself to the court of Edgar. Here he sojourned for some time; and he also resided occasionally with a bishop in Wales.¹ In 1102 Magnus Barefoot invaded Ireland, and was slain in battle the following year. The younger Erlend fell with him, or, according to other accounts, had been killed in the sea-fight off Anglesea. The earls Paul and Erlend had died in Norway some time before.

Magnus, son of Erlend, was in Scotland when he heard of these events. He was dismissed with munificent presents by the Scottish king, and repairing to Caithness was immediately invested with that earldom. He had profited by his intercourse with the mild son of Margaret, and with the British bishop; and the light which shone on his early years now illuminated the path of his manhood. His just government and holy life gained him the reverence and affection of all his subjects. Haco had, in the meantime, taken possession of the whole earldom of Orkney, though half of it belonged of right to his cousin. Magnus sailed to Norway, and complained to their common sovereign of this injury; and King Eystein gave sentence that he should receive his father's half of Orkney. Haco submitted to this award, and for some years the two earls ruled amicably together.²

During this time Magnus married a Scottish lady of high rank, and afterwards visited the court of Henry Beaucherc. On his return, he found that Haco had seized, not only the whole of Orkney, but Caithness also. Another arrangement was however made, and the earldoms of Orkney, Zetland, and Caithness, were, in two equal parts, divided between the kinsmen. Dissensions having again broken out, Magnus and Haco agreed to meet after Easter in the isle of Eglishay, each with two ships, and an equal number of followers. When Magnus landed in the island, he found that Haco had come with eight instead of two vessels. His companions expressed their readiness to support him to the utmost. "I am unwilling," he said, "to endanger your lives for my sake. If peace cannot be established between me and my cousin, God's will

¹ Magnus Barefoot's Saga—*Heimskringla*, vol. iii. p. 143. *Vita Magni*, c. viii. *The Life* says, "ad aulam Melkolfi regis Scotorum pervenit." The name must be a mistake; Malcolm Canmore died in 1093, and Edgar was now reigning.

² *Vita Magni*, cc. x. xi. xii.

be done. I would rather suffer from others' wrong and falsehood, than myself be guilty of those crimes." Entering the church, he spent the night in prayer. Early in the morning he requested the Eucharist to be celebrated, and received the body of the Lord. The service was hardly over when some of Haco's followers entered the church, and seizing Magnus brought him before their master. The great crime which his kinsman was about to commit weighed more on the earl's mind than the fear of death. He entreated Haco to spare his life, and declared his readiness to submit to exile, imprisonment, or mutilation. Haco seemed to be moved, but his followers cried out that one of them must die, as thenceforth they would have no divided rule in Orkney. Magnus knelt down, confessed his sins to God, and prayed for himself and his murderers. Then addressing himself to the executioner, he said: "Stand before me, and strike at me with all your might; it beseems not a prince to be beheaded like a thief." He signed himself with the sign of the cross, and bending forward fell under the second blow. Haco ordered the body to be interred in the place where he was slain, but afterwards allowed his mother Thora to bury it in Christ Church, at Birsa. Magnus died on Monday, the sixteenth of April, and that day was afterwards observed as his festival.¹

¹ Ibid. c. xxiii.-xxviii. The date of the martyrdom is mentioned very particularly in the Life. "Dies emortalis Comitiss Sancti Magni duabus post festum Tiburtii et Valeriani noctibus incidit; erat secunda septimanæ die cum occideretur celeber, tribus post festum Mariæ tempore quadragesimali hebdomadis; tenebat tunc simul cum Haquino imperium Comes annos duodecim; regebat ea tempestate Norvegiam, cum fratribus Eysteine et Olao, Sigurdus Hierosolymipeta; exacti erant post obitum Sancti Olai Haralldi filii septuaginta quatuor anni; erat tempore Paschalis Papæ ejus nominis secundi, et Sancti Johannis episcopi in Islandia Holensis." "Passus est anno post Incarnationem Domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo centesimo quarto, die Lunæ, decimo sexto Kalendarum mensis Maii." It is not easy, however, to ascertain the year in which St. Magnus died. The passage last quoted assigns 1104, and with this the pontificate of Paschal, the reign of Sigurd, Eystein, and Olave, and the distance of time from the death of King Olave the Saint, mentioned in the first passage, would correspond. It would not agree with the episcopate of the Icelandic bishop John, if the date of 1107, generally given to the foundation of the see of Holum, be correct. In any event, it cannot be reconciled with the twelve years of St. Magnus' rule, since he became earl only after the decease of King Magnus Barefoot in 1103. Torfæus (*Rerum Orcadensium Historia*, p. 86) and Pinkerton (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 387, and p. 417) assign 1110. The true year is probably later even than this;

On the death of Magnus, Haco took possession of the whole earldom of the Orkneys, and treated the friends of his murdered kinsman with great harshness. But he finally repented of his crime, made the pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem, and on his return governed the islands with mildness and justice. On the expulsion of Paul, son of Haco, Ronald, sister's son to Magnus, became Earl of Orkney. Magnus was now honoured as a saint and martyr, and his relics were translated to Kirkwall. There the magnificent cathedral which bears his name was begun by Ronald about the year 1138, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made while contending with Paul for the earldom. Ronald afterwards made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, returning to Orkney, was treacherously murdered about the year 1158. He also was venerated as a saint among the Northmen.¹

The early history of the see of Orkney is involved in obscurity, and the statements which have come down to us are apparently contradictory. The difficulty is explained, to a considerable extent, by the circumstance that one narrative comes from the Norse writers, another from the English; and it is probably a distinct succession of bishops to which they refer.

Stubbs mentions that Ralph, Bishop of Orkney, was consecrated by Thomas, Archbishop of York, in the end of the eleventh century, after making the usual profession of fidelity to that prelate as his metropolitan. He also states that Roger, the successor of Ralph, was consecrated by Gerard, Archbishop of York, in the beginning of the twelfth century; and that the next bishop, a second Ralph, formerly a presbyter of York, was elected by the people of Orkney, and consecrated by Archbishop Thomas, the successor of Gerard.²

but no date will reconcile the various circumstances mentioned with the day of the week.

¹ Most of the preceding details connected with St. Magnus are derived from the Life which has been quoted. The substance of that work appears to have been originally written in Latin by a priest, named Robert, about twenty years after the death of Magnus. The name of the author from whom we have it in its present shape, and the time when he wrote, are unknown. Pinkerton (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 387) calls him a monk, and thinks that he lived in the thirteenth century. He cannot have written at an earlier date, since he quotes Snorro Sturleson by name.

² *Actus Pontificum Eboracensium*—*Decem Scriptores*, pp. 1709, 1710, 1713.

Torfaeus contends¹ that, since the Norse writers say nothing of these prelates, and since the Orkneys were at this time subject to the Archbishop of Hamburg, as their metropolitan, the bishops ordained at York held merely a titular dignity, in order to strengthen the claims of the English primate, and never resided within their diocese. This is not altogether correct. It appears that a bishop was elected for the Orkneys while Paul and Erlend ruled the islands. The former earl, who seems to have been chiefly instrumental in procuring the election, sent the prelate so chosen to Thomas, Archbishop of York, for consecration. As Thomas had not two suffragans, and so was unable to confer canonical consecration, he applied to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who commanded Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Peter, Bishop of Chester, to go to York, and assist the northern metropolitan.²

The name of the bishop-elect is not mentioned, but there can be no doubt that he was the first Ralph, above alluded to.

In a letter written by St. Anselm to Earl Haco, son of Paul, the primate exhorts him to obey the bishop who is set over him and his people: ³ and it was formerly mentioned that a bishop of Orkney was to be requested to assist in the consecration at York of Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews. Again we have no intimation of the name of

¹ *Orcades*, pp. 159, 160.

² "Siquidem venit ad nos quidam clericus, quem misit Paulus Comes, cum literis sigillatis de Orchadum partibus, significans in eis episcopatum suae terrae eidem clerico se concessisse. Ac ille, antecessorum suorum ordine custodito, postulat a nobis episcopum se consecrari. Cui quod juste petit injuste denegare non possumus. Precamur ergo nobis duos episcopos dirigat paternitas vestra, quorum fulti orationibus et auxilio, tantæ rei sacramentum canonice compleamus." "Rogantes itaque præcipimus et præcipientes rogamus, quatenus omni excusatione summotâ, illuc eatis, et ex nostro præcepto secum quod justum est in tantæ rei mysterio compleatis. Non enim decet, ut qui sacrandus in hanc terram venit, et cum omni humilitate sacrari se postulat, inopia adiutorum a tanto regno non sacratus abscedat." *Eadmeri Opera*, ed. Gerberon, 1675, pp. 128, 129. The letters of Thomas and Lanfranc are also given in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 362.

³ "Gaudeo quia referente episcopo, quem nunc per gratiam Dei habetis, didici quia prudentia vestra libenter suscipit verbum Dei, et consilium quod pertinet ad salutem. Hac igitur fiducia mitto strenuitati vestræ litteras monitionis meæ, quatenus se studiose committat prædicationi et doctrinæ ejusdem episcopi; et quantum in vobis est studetis ut populus vester hoc ipsum faciat. S. Anselmi Epist. lib. iv. ep. 92—*Anselmi Opera*, ed. Gerberon, 1675, p. 448.

the bishop, but it is reasonable to suppose that he was the same with Roger, consecrated by Archbishop Gerard.

On the other hand, Adam of Bremen mentions that after the conversion of Orkney by King Olave Tryggvasson, a bishop, named Thorulf, was ordained and sent to the islands by Adalbert, Archbishop of Hamburg, and after him another bishop, named Adalbert. It appears that the metropolitans of Hamburg claimed Orkney, and the neighbouring islands, as within their province, and that the bishops whom they sent thither had no distinct see or diocese, but exercised their office wherever they happened to be for the time.¹ We are told in the Life of Magnus, that William, under whose episcopate the relics of the Saint were translated to Kirkwall, was the first Bishop of Orkney, and that he governed the diocese for sixty-six years.² The duration of his episcopate has probably been exaggerated. According to the Icelandic Annals, referred to by Torfæus,³ he died in 1168.

The following is perhaps the true explanation of these different statements. The people of Norway had been converted partly by German partly by English missionaries. The Archbishops of Hamburg, as the successors of St. Anschar, were for some time primates of the Scandinavian Churches, while the Archbishops of York claimed to be metropolitans of the whole northern parts of Britain. Norway as yet had no metropolitan of its own, and the prelates of both those sees held Orkney to be within their province, and sent bishops occasionally thither. These bishops had no regular see, and to none of them were all the islands subject. The first proper bishop was William, whose cathedral was at Kirkwall from the time that the church of St. Magnus was erected. He owned no allegiance whatever to York, but may have yielded a nominal submission to Hamburg. The second Ralph was rejected alike by the prince, the clergy, and the people of Orkney. The Archbishop of York endeavoured, through the kings of Norway, to obtain an acknowledgment of his rights. Two letters are preserved, one from Pope Calixtus II., the

¹ See Torfæus, p. 175.

² "Fuit Vilhelmus primus Orcadum episcopus annos sexaginta sex." Vita Magni, p. 433.

³ Orcades, p. 159.

other from Pope Honorius II., addressed to the Norwegian sovereigns in favour of Bishop Ralph, both proceeding on the assumption that the islands were subject to York, and written, there can be no doubt, at the request of the English metropolitans. These attempts were without success. We have no evidence that Ralph was ever within his nominal diocese. Although styled Bishop of Orkney, he resided in England, performing episcopal functions as vicar of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham.¹

Nothing has yet been said of one of the most interesting seats of Norwegian dominion—the Isle of Man. When Harold Harfager subdued the Orkneys and the Hebrides, Man was also annexed to his kingdom. The island was for some time subject to the Danish kings of Dublin, and after the middle of the eleventh century had for its sovereign a Norwegian prince, named Godred Crovan. It was conquered by Magnus Barefoot, but was recovered by the descendants of Godred, who continued to rule both Man and the Hebrides under the supremacy of the kings of Norway.

The inhabitants of Man are said to have first received the Christian religion from St. Patrick and his disciples, and the names of Germanus, Maughold, and other early bishops, are mentioned; but there is no authority for these statements beyond the tradition of a much later age. We may believe, however, that Man was really converted by the disciples of St. Patrick, and that its ancient ecclesiastical system was similar to that which existed in Ireland and in Scotland. It is probable that

¹ “Radulphus, quoniam nec principis terræ, nec cleri, nec plebis electione, vel assensu, fuerat ordinatus, ab omnibus refutatus, et in loco pontificis a nemine susceptus est. Hic, quia nullius episcopus urbis erat, modo Eboracensi, modo Dunhelmensi adherens, ab eis sustentabatur, et vicarius utriusque in episcopali ministeriis habebatur.” Continuation of Florence of Worcester, as quoted by Hailes, *Annals*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83. For the papal letters see the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1186. The letter of Honorius makes express reference to another prelate intruded in place of Ralph: “Auribus nostris intimatum est, quod venerabilis frater noster, Thomas Eborum Archiepiscopus, Radulphum Orchenieia ipsum consecravit. Postmodum vero sicut accepimus alius est ibidem intrusus.” Ralph, Bishop of Orkney, is one of the witnesses to the writ of David I. regarding the consecration of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, and is mentioned by name in a letter addressed by Pope Calixtus II. to the suffragans of York. See *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1187. As vicar of Archbishop Thurstan, he was present with the English army at the battle of the Standard.

the Northmen, who took possession of the island, became Christians as early at least as the beginning of the eleventh century. From the middle of that century the names of the bishops have been preserved, but nothing farther is known regarding them. The first who is mentioned is Roolwer, who was bishop a little before the reign of Godred Crovan, and is said to have been buried at Kirk-Maughold. The next bishop was William, who was succeeded by Aumond, son of Olave. Aumond governed the diocese in the days of Godred Crovan, and had for his successor an Englishman, named Gamaliel, who was buried at Peterborough.¹

We do not know by whom these bishops were consecrated, nor whether they acknowledged subjection to any metropolitan. Their authority probably extended over the Hebrides, so far as those islands were possessed by the Northmen.

¹ See *Chronicon Manniæ*, ed. Johnstone, pp. 43, 44. The absence of all authentic information prior to the episcopate of Roolwer is admitted by the author of the Chronicle: "*Primus extitit antequam Godredus Crovan regnare coepisset Roolwer episcopus, qui jacet apud ecclesiam Sancti Machuti. Multi quidem a tempore Beati Patricii, qui primus fidem Catholicam prædicasse fertur Mannensibus, extiterunt episcopi, sed ab ipso sufficit episcoporum numerum inchoare. Sufficit, dicimus, quod qui vel quales ante ipsum episcopi extiterunt penitus ignoramus, quia nec scriptum invenimus, nec certa relatione seniorum didicimus.*" (*Ibid.*)

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ST. DAVID IN 1124, TO HIS DEATH IN 1153.

Accession of King David—His invasion of England—Anglo-Norman Colonization of Scotland—Reformation of the Scottish Church—Councils of Roxburgh and Carlisle—Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews—Foundation of the Priory of St. Andrews—John, Bishop of Glasgow—Bishops of Dunkeld and Murray—Foundation of the Bishoprics of Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, Dunblane, and Candida Casa—Bishops of Man—Monastic foundations of the reign of David—Cathedral Chapters—Rural Deaneries—Liturgical Offices—Domestic life of David—Queen Matilda—Prince Henry—Ailred of Rievaulx—St. Waltheof, Abbot of Melrose—Death of Prince Henry—Sickness and Death of King David.

THE era of David's accession to the Scottish throne was an eventful one. The first long struggle between Church and State had been arranged by a mutual compromise, both on the continent and in England. During many years of darkness, there had been reason to fear that the real nature of Christ's kingdom would be forgotten, and that the Church would become a mere instrument in the hands of the secular power. That danger was now at an end, and the spirit of reform developed itself in the increasing strictness of ecclesiastical discipline, in the frequent convocation of synods, in the rise of new religious orders, and in the closer connection of the different branches of the Western Church with the see of Rome, and with each other. The prevalent opinions, and the institutions in which they found shape, had already made their appearance in Scotland, but under the fostering care of King David, they attained the same predominance which they held in the rest of Christendom; and with us, whatever it may have been among other nations, these changes were nearly all for good. The Celtic Church, in the middle of the eleventh cen-

ture had become very corrupt, and was utterly unable to reform itself. In doctrine it shared all the errors of the age, while in discipline, in ritual, and in its whole external structure, it had fallen into hopeless decay. The monasteries—the centres of the old system—had become degenerate, and with them religion itself had declined. The commencement of the reform has been related, and David was now raised up to complete the work which his mother and his brother had begun.

The personal history and civil government of the King of the Scots are intimately connected with the progress of the Church during his reign, and require to be explained in order to the due understanding of his ecclesiastical policy.

David, the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, was about forty-four years old when he ascended the throne. His boyhood was spent under the eye of his mother, who carefully superintended the education which her children received. One of his teachers was the Cumbrian ecclesiastic John, whom he afterwards raised to the see of Glasgow. From his father's death till the accession of Alexander he resided in England, either, it may be supposed, with Edgar Atheling and his maternal relatives, or at the English court. His sister Matilda was united to Henry Beauclerc, in the year 1100, and soon afterwards we find him taking up his abode with them. Here he acquired those accomplishments which befitted his station; and he is said to have lost all traces of the barbarism which, in the opinion of foreigners, marked the manners of his own land.¹ The personal character of David was always pure and upright, but in early youth his courtly occupations sometimes led him to forget the lessons of ascetic piety which he had learned from his mother. About the year 1110, he was married to Matilda, widow of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, and daughter of Walthecof, Earl of Northumberland, by Judith, the niece of the Conqueror. The royal house of Scotland was thus, for a second time, connected by affinity with the line of Siward. One son was born of this marriage, who was named Henry, and after-

¹ “*Juvenis cæteris curialior, et qui nostrorum convictu et familiaritate limatus a puero omnem rubiginem Scotticæ barbariei deteraserat.*” Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, p. 627.

wards, in his mother's right, or by cession of the English king, became Earl of Northumberland.¹

While David governed Cumbria, he probably resided, sometimes within that principality, sometimes on his English domains. After his accession to the Scottish crown, he had still frequent occasion to visit the southern kingdom. In 1127, he was present at a great council of peers and prelates, convened at London by Henry I., for the purpose of swearing to defend the rights of his daughter, the Empress Matilda. David, as the highest in rank, was the first lay peer who took the oath; the next was Stephen, Count of Boulogne, nephew of the English king. When, after Henry's death, Stephen broke his oath and assumed the crown, the King of the Scots resolutely maintained the cause of Matilda. It is in conformity with his noble character to suppose that in this he was actuated solely by a conviction of her right, and by the sanctity of the oath which he had sworn. By the ties of kindred he was closely related to both the rivals. The Empress was daughter of his sister Matilda; the wife of Stephen was the only child of his sister Mary.

In 1138, King David invaded Northumberland. His nephew William, son of Duncan, led part of his army towards Lancaster, and defeated the English at Clitheroe. William then rejoined the king, and the Scottish army advanced southwards. The barbarous Galwegians were guilty of outrages which David in vain endeavoured to repress. Many of the English were favourable to the Empress, and the character of the Scottish king was universally respected, but the nobles and people of the north determined to resist an invasion which was conducted with such cruelty. At the call of Archbishop

¹ Ordericus Vitalis (p. 702) says that David had two daughters, Claricia and Hodierna, and also a son, born before Henry, who perished in infancy, by the cruel act of a wicked ecclesiastic whom the king had treated with kindness. The same story is told, with some variations, by Winton (vol. i. pp. 308, 309). Hailes states (vol. i. p. 112) that Ordericus is the only authority for the narrative of the murder, and hopes, for the sake of humanity, that it is not true. He had not adverted to Winton's account, which, in his time, was only to be found in manuscript. Although Ordericus was a contemporary writer, his remarks on the family of St. Margaret are otherwise inaccurate; and, notwithstanding the partial confirmation by Winton, we may reasonably acquiesce in the charitable hope expressed by Lord Hailes.

Thurstan, the barons assembled at York. By him they were encouraged to fight for their Church and country against the barbarians. He himself proposed to accompany them, but was prevailed on to remain behind, on account of his age and infirmities, and Ralph, Bishop of Orkney, as his suffragan and vicar, went with the army. The English barons were anxious, if possible, to avoid a battle, and sent to David two of their number, Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol, who offered to procure from Stephen a grant of the earldom of Northumberland in favour of Prince Henry. Their proposal was rejected; the Scots crossed the Tees, and the two armies approached each other near Northallerton. They met at break of day on the twenty-second of August. The English standard, whence the battle derived its name, was erected on the plain. It was the mast of a ship fixed in a carriage, and round it hung the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon. The chief nobles of the north were there, but the most trusted leader was Walter Espec, an aged warrior, famed for his wisdom and piety, and for his munificence to the Church. The royal ensign of David was the Dragon, assumed by him, as has been conjectured, to mark his claims as the lineal representative of the kings of Wessex. The battle was fiercely contested. Prince Henry particularly distinguished himself, but the Scots were at last obliged to give way. Those around David retired in good order, with the royal banner displayed, and reached Carlisle in safety.

Peace was concluded in the following year between David and Stephen, and, by the conditions of the treaty, the whole earldom of Northumberland, except Newcastle and Bamborough, was yielded to Prince Henry. When Stephen was made prisoner, and England for some time submitted to the Empress, David repaired to her court at London. He shared her flight when the citizens of the capital rose against her, and attended her again when she retreated from Winchester. On the latter occasion he was saved from captivity by the assistance of David Oliphant, to whom he had been godfather, and who then served in Stephen's army. The rest of his reign was spent for the most part in tranquillity, and in the zealous performance of his royal duties, and of every Christian virtue.

Before the end of David's reign, the supremacy of the Teutonic race was established in Scotland. Many English nobles were invited thither by the king, and received extensive grants of land for themselves and their followers. Ecclesiastics from the south, and their lay dependents, were equally welcome. Wherever the colonist of English or Norman blood built his castle, a village was erected for the accommodation of his retainers. When a monastery was founded, the hamlets and granges of the monks were generally supplied with artificers and labourers from England. Towns also arose under the patronage of the king and the bishops; and the Scots were taught by the industrious Saxons and Flemings who settled among them to assimilate their municipal system to that of the burghs now rising into importance in England and on the continent.¹

David was likewise the first of Scottish legislators. In his reign formal enactments were substituted for the rude traditional customs, or the brief written laws of the Celtic tribes.²

But the great work of David was the reformation of the Scottish Church. At his accession there were only four regular dioceses, those of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Murray. There were no cathedrals, in the proper sense of the word, and, except in Lothian, few parish churches or parochial divisions. The Culdees continued to occupy the most important ecclesiastical establishments; learning was little cultivated; the possessions of the Church were for the most part in the hands of laymen; and no permanent provision existed for the support of the clergy. Before the death of David a great change had taken place. Six other dioceses were founded or restored; cathedrals were built at St. Andrews and Glasgow; the Culdees were partially displaced; and new monastic orders were introduced, whose members immediately began to erect churches similar to those which they possessed in England and France. The monasteries of King David's

¹ The evidence of the Anglo-Norman colonization of Scotland is chiefly to be found scattered throughout the chartularies. No good work has yet been written on this interesting subject; the best account which we have is that in Chalmers's *Caledonia*, book iv. c. 1.

² See the first volume of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, preface, p. 32-36.

foundation were frequently raised on the site of old Columbite houses, and were endowed with the ecclesiastical lands which the king had wrested from their usurping occupants. Other churches were also built or restored throughout the kingdom, humble in structure, we may be sure, but served by resident priests, who had parochial districts assigned to them, and who derived their maintenance from a fixed share of the fruits of the earth, or of the labours of the husbandman and artificer. The clergy were subjected to the rule of their bishop, the monks to that of their abbot; discipline was restored; obedience to the canons was enforced; and the ecclesiastics, regular and secular, became the chief supporters of learning, and the diligent teachers of every useful art. Scotland, so long isolated from the rest of the world, was now admitted to the brotherhood of Western Christendom; and this happy union was attended by an increase of religious zeal and devotion, and by an improvement in the lives, and manners, and general welfare of the people.

In the year 1126, a council was held at Roxburgh by John of Crema, cardinal-legate from Pope Honorius II. This is the first council, so far as appears, which was called by papal authority in Scotland. The Pope had written to King David requesting him to receive the legate with due reverence, and to cause the bishops of his kingdom to meet in synod; and mentioning that he had empowered the legate to enquire into the controversy between Archbishop Thurstan and the Scottish prelates, but that he had reserved the final decision to himself. We are not told what took place at the council.¹

In 1138, soon after the battle of the Standard, another Scottish synod met at Carlisle, under Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, legate of Innocent II. King David, with several of his prelates and nobles, was present. John, Bishop of Glasgow, who had become a Benedictine monk at Tyron, was enjoined to resume the government of his diocese; and the cruelties of which the army had been guilty in the late war with England were denounced, and all such outrages were forbidden in time to come. The Scottish Church had

¹ Simeon of Durham—*Decem Scriptores*, pp. 252, 253. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 68. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 407-409. See also Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 589; and Hailes, vol. i. p. 75, and vol. iii. p. 200.

for some years favoured the Antipope Anacletus, but now submitted to Innocent. It may be conjectured that David, who had already begun his Cistercian foundations, would not willingly remain opposed to the cause which was zealously maintained by St. Bernard.¹

The consecration of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, which had been delayed for four years, took place in 1128. The consecrating prelate was Archbishop Thurstan; and farther difficulties were obviated for the time by a compromise similar to that which had been effected in the case of Turgot. The archbishop dispensed, for that occasion, with a profession of obedience on the part of Robert, declaring that he did so for the love of God, and of the King of Scotland, and saving the rights of the Churches of York and St. Andrews.² Bishop Robert zealously co-operated with his sovereign in every effort for the temporal improvement and spiritual benefit of the Scots. He devoted his own seventh part of the oblations at

¹ Simeon of Durlham, p. 264. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. i. p. 418. See also Innes's Critical Essay, p. 589; and Hailes, vol. i. p. 91, and vol. iii. p. 201. "The same historian [Richard of Hexham] says that at that season the Scottish nation submitted to acknowledge Innocent II. as lawful Pope. '*Illico vero diu a Cisalpina, immo fere ab universa ecclesia discordantes, exosæ memoriæ Petro Leoni, et apostasiæ ejus, nimium favisse videbantur. Tunc vero divina gratia inspirante, mandata Innocentii Papæ et legatum ejus omnes unanimiter cum magna veneratione susceperunt.*' The plain intendment of this passage is, that the Scots renounced the party of the Antipope, and submitted themselves to Innocent II. From words so unambiguous, Sir James Dalrymple (p. 258-261) has drawn this extraordinary inference, that the Scots differed from the Latin Church in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and other articles of faith. Sir James had an hypothesis to maintain, that the Scottish Church was not Latinized, as he expresses it, until the reign of David I. In searching for proofs of this hypothesis, he met with this passage in Richard of Hexham, and pressed it into his service." Hailes, vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

² "Notum sit tam præsentibus quam futuris, T. Eborum archiepiscopum consecrassæ, sine professione et obedientia, pro Dei amore et mei, Robertum Sancti Andree episcopum, salva querela Eborum ecclesiæ, et salva justitia Sancti Andree. Et si quando Archiepiscopus Eborum de querela sua loqui voluerit, plenariam rectitudinem, remota malevolentia, ei exequar, ubi juste debebo." *Litera Regis Scotorum—Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1187. "Notum sit omnibus tam præsentibus quam futuris, absolute me consecrassæ sine professione et obedientia, pro Dei amore et Regis Scotiæ venerabilis David, Robertum S. Andree episcopum, salva querela Eboracensis ecclesiæ et justitia ecclesiæ S. Andree. Et si Archiepiscopus Eboracensis de querela sua loqui voluerit, Rex plenariam rectitudinem, remota malevolentia, ei exequetur, ubi juste debebit." *Charta Thurstini—Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 237. See also *Hist. Fundat. Ecclesiæ S. Andree—Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 465.

the altar of the Church of St. Andrews, and those which he recovered by the king's help out of the hands of the lay usurpers, to the erection of a cathedral.¹ But he knew that without a body of clergy on whom he could rely, these external reforms would be of little avail.² He therefore contemplated the establishment of a monastery of regular canons of the order to which he himself belonged. This design he carried into effect, with the assistance of the king, in 1144, having previously obtained as superior of his new foundation a canon named Robert, from the church of St. Oswald, near Pontefract, whence he himself had come to Scone.³ In 1147, Pope Eugenius III. confirmed the privileges of the canons, and, among others, recognized their right, after the death of Robert, to elect the Bishops of St. Andrews.⁴ By the express permission of King David, the Culdees of St. Andrews were to be received into the monastery, provided they were willing to become canons; and those who did not choose to adopt this alternative, were allowed to retain their possessions during life, but after their decease canons were to be elected in their place, and all the property of the Culdees was to belong to the new foundation.⁵ This mandate was either recalled by David, or was evaded by the Culdees, since we know that its injunctions were not carried out.

Bishop Robert conferred on the Prior and Canons-Regular of St. Andrews the abbey of St. Serf at Lochleven, with its whole possessions, and the library of books, all as formerly belonging to the Culdees. The grant was confirmed by David, who farther enjoined that the Culdees there, if they chose to conform to the Augustinian rule, should be allowed to remain in peace, but otherwise should be expelled from the

¹ Hist. Fundat. Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 465. The cathedral so erected by Bishop Robert is the building known as the church of St. Rule, so long supposed to be of a much earlier date. See Quarterly Review, vol. lxxxv. p. 120.

² "Non sufficit ad laudem Nominis Domini lapidum congeriem congregare, nisi et procuremus vivos in Dei edificium lapides adunare." Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ, p. 122.

³ Hist. Fundat. Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ—Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 465, 466. Foundation charter by Bishop Robert—Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ, pp. 122, 123.

⁴ Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ, p. 48-50.

⁵ Ibid. p. 180.

island.¹ It is probable that Robert claimed a right to alter the constitution and to dispose of the property of Lochleven, in virtue of the old agreement between Bishop Fothad and the abbot Ronan. The language of the king seems needlessly stern in this case, but we do not know what particular reasons there may have been for ejecting the Culdees of Lochleven.

When John, Bishop of Glasgow, returned to Scotland in the end of the reign of Alexander, Archbishop Thurstan continued to assert his rights over the whole Scottish Church, and especially over the Cumbrian diocese. One important argument in favour of this claim was drawn from the circumstance that there was no proper metropolitan in Scotland, and, as the prelates there must be subject to some one, that the Archbishop of York had the best right to their obedience. If Scotland could obtain a metropolitan for itself, the claim of the English primate could no longer be maintained. An attempt was accordingly made, in the beginning of the reign of David, to procure the pall for St. Andrews. The Bishop of Glasgow went to Rome for that purpose, accompanying the legate, John of Crema, on his return to Italy in 1126, but Thurstan was successful in opposing his efforts. The archbishop also renewed his former complaint, pointing out that the rescripts of the Popes, Paschal and Calixtus, had been disregarded both by John and by the other Scottish prelates. John declined to answer to this charge, stating that he had not received a regular citation, and that he was there only on his sovereign's business. Honorius ordered a day to be fixed in proper form, and the other bishops to be duly summoned.²

We are not told what farther took place; but John continued to assert his independence, and Innocent II. renewed the injunctions of his predecessors, and commanded the Bishop of Glasgow and the other Scottish bishops to yield obedience to York. This order was disregarded as usual. The Roman see threatened excommunication, but there is no evidence that such an extreme measure was ever resorted to.³

The episcopate of John, like that of the primate Robert, was distinguished by the erection of a cathedral. It was

¹ Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae, p. 43, and pp. 188, 189.

² Stubbs—*Pecem Scriptores*, p. 1719. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 494.

³ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. pp. 1187, 1188.

dedicated on the seventh day of July, 1136, and, on that occasion, King David made an additional grant to the Church of Glasgow.¹

Soon after this event, Bishop John, for some reason which is not sufficiently explained, again left his diocese, and became a monk at Tyron, but, as already mentioned, was recalled by the legate Alberic in 1138. At the same time Alberic prevailed on King David to receive Ethelwulf, Bishop of Carlisle, into favour, and to put him in possession of his see.² That prelate had been consecrated in 1133 by Archbishop Thurstan; and there is reason to believe that, up to the erection of his see in the previous year, the jurisdiction of Glasgow had extended over Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far as the Rerecross on Stanmore, and that the new diocese of Carlisle was withdrawn from it by the English king and archbishop, because the successor of St. Kentigern refused obedience to the Metropolitan of York.³ David naturally resented such interference with the rights of the Cumbrian bishop, but was at this time induced to sanction the new ecclesiastical arrangement.

John, Bishop of Glasgow, died in 1147. His successor was Herbert, Abbot of Kelso, who was consecrated at Auxerre by Pope Eugenius III., on the feast of St. Bartholomew, in the same year.⁴

Cormac, the first diocesan Bishop of Dunkeld, was succeeded by Gregory, in the interval between the consecration of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, in 1128, and the death of Queen Matilda, in 1130.⁵

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 70. *Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 160. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen*. pp. 9, 11.

² *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. i. p. 418.

³ *Wendover*, vol. ii. p. 212. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 69. *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. c. 29; lib. viii. c. 3. Fordun makes the erection of Carlisle the cause of Bishop John's retirement to Tyron. This may have been the case, but there are several obvious mistakes in his narrative.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 73. *Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 160.

⁵ Cormac is witness to two charters by King David to Dunfermline (*Registrum de Dunfermline*, pp. 4, 16). Each of these is also attested by Robert, "Episcopus S. Andreae," not "electus S. Andreae" as in an earlier charter in the same Register. Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld, confirms a charter to Dunfermline (*ibid.* p. 5-7), granted by David, with consent of Queen Matilda; and

The precise length of the episcopate of Gregory, first Bishop of Murray, is not known. He was succeeded by William, probably in the middle of the reign of David, certainly before the death of the king.¹

The bishopric, or episcopal monastery, of Mortlach, which had been founded by Malcolm Canmore, was translated to Aberdeen by King David; and Aberdeen became the see of a regular diocese, extending from the Dee to the eastern boundary of Murray. It was endowed at the new erection, or soon afterwards, with extensive possessions, including Mortlach itself and its dependent churches, the monastery of Clova, and the four churches which subsequently became the prebends of the Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor, and Treasurer. This translation is said to have taken place in the year 1125. The first bishop was Nectan. His successor was Edward, the commencement of whose episcopate is uncertain, but who was bishop before the death of Prince Henry.²

The foundation of the bishoprics of Ross and Caithness has been ascribed to David, and the statement is indirectly confirmed by the evidence of charters.

The diocese of Ross was co-extensive with the province of the same name, and from its commencement the see was either at St. Boniface's church of Rosemarkie, or at the place in the immediate neighbourhood afterwards known as Fortrose. The first bishop was Macbeth, whose episcopate began in the period between the consecration of Bishop Robert of St. Andrews and the decease of Queen Matilda. Simeon was the next bishop. His succession may be fixed to the time which intervened between the death of John, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1147, and that of Prince Henry, in 1150.³

if Fordun can be trusted (*Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 43), the queen died in the seventh year of her husband's reign.

¹ See *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae*, p. 184, where Bishop William of Murray attests a charter by David.

² See the bull of Pope Adrian IV., the earliest authentic writ of the bishopric—*Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. i. p. 5-7. See also the same Register, vol. ii. pp. 246, 247, and preface, p. xix.; and the *Chartulary of Dunfermline*, p. 8, where Bishop Edward is one of the witnesses to a charter granted by King David, with consent of his son.

³ "Macbeth Rosmarkensis episcopus" confirms David's charter to Dunfermline, already referred to, which is also confirmed by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, and to which Queen Matilda consents. Simeon is witness to another

The diocese of Caithness comprehended the district known by that name in ancient times, and afterwards divided into Caithness proper and Sutherland. The Norse earls who ruled in Orkney and Caithness yielded an unwilling homage to the Kings of Norway and of Scotland. As the descendants of Malcolm increased in power, they extended their dominion more firmly towards the north, and, while the islands remained subject to the Norwegian kings, the earldom on the mainland acknowledged the supremacy of the Scottish sovereigns. The foundation of a bishopric in Caithness strengthened the influence of David. It appears to have been erected in the beginning of his reign, since we find Andrew, the first bishop, confirming a charter to Dunfermline granted by the king, with consent of Queen Matilda.¹ The see of Caithness was probably established at Dornoch from the beginning; and we know that there was a monastery there, founded, it may be supposed, by the disciples of Columba or of Malruba.² Bishop Andrew was originally a monk of Dunfermline. He must have been frequently absent from his remote diocese, as we find him on many occasions witnessing the charters of David and others. He supplied information to Giraldus Cambrensis, or whoever else was the author of the fragment, "*De situ Albaniæ*," published by Innes in the appendix to his Critical Essay.³

The see of Brechin also is said to have been founded by King David. There is no contemporary evidence of this, nor am I aware that any of his charters are attested by a Bishop

charter by David and Henry to the same monastery, which is attested also by Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow. See *Registrum de Dunfermline*, pp. 3, 4, 8. See also Keith's Catalogue, p. 184.

¹ *Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 5-7.

² See writ preserved in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, p. 14, addressed by David to Ronald, Earl of Orkney, and to the Earl of Caithness. "*David Rex Scottorum Reinwaldo Comiti de Orkadia, et Comiti et omnibus probis hominibus Cateneis et Orkadia, salutem. Mando vobis et praeipio, quod sicut nos diligitis, monachos, et homines eorum, et res, habitantes ad Durnach in Cateneis diligatis, et ubicunque inter vos venerint manuteneatis, non permittendo quod aliquis eis injuriam vel contumeliam faciat, nec fieri permittat.*" The commencement of Bishop Gilbert's charter of constitution favours the opinion that the seat of the cathedral had been always at Dornoch. See *Records of the Bishopric of Caithness*, p. 17.

³ "*Andreas, vir venerabilis, Katanensis Episcopus, natione Scotus, et Dunfermilis monachus.*" *Critical Essay*, p. 770. See also Mr. Cosmo Innes's prefatory remarks on the *Records of the Bishopric of Caithness*, pp. 5, 6.

of Brechin. But in the reign of Malcolm IV., and during the episcopate of Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews, we find mention of Samson, Bishop of Brechin, whence it may be reasonably inferred that the traditional date of the erection is correct. The prior and Culdees of Brechin continued for many years to form the chapter of the bishopric.¹

The erection or restoration of the see of Dunblane by King David rests on similar historical probability. Laurence, the first known Bishop of Dunblane, attests a charter of Malcolm IV., to which Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews, is also a witness.²

Brechin and Dunblane were the two smallest Scottish dioceses. The former comprehended some portions of Angus and Mearns formerly attached to St. Andrews; the latter would seem to have been taken chiefly from Dunkeld.

The reign of David also witnessed the third erection of Candida Casa. The English see, as formerly mentioned, became extinct with the last bishop of the line of Pecthelm. It has frequently been asserted that, in the interval between this extinction and the restoration of the diocese, Galloway was subject to the Bishops of Man. But there is no good authority for such a statement, which, like so many others of the same character in Scottish history, appears to have originated with Hector Boece. It is more probable that, as long as the successors of St. Kentigern ruled in Cumbria, the people of Galloway were under their jurisdiction. Galloway was now subject to King David, but it was not, like Cumbria, under his immediate government. It had lords of its own, whose history becomes intimately connected with that of the Scottish sovereigns in the twelfth century. Fergus was Lord of Galloway in the reign of David. Connected by marriage with the royal house of England, and with the kings of Man, and ruling a turbulent and barbarous people, he yielded a reluctant submission to the vigorous sway of David, but en-

¹ See charters of Malcolm IV. and Bishop Arnold in the *Chartulary of St. Andrews*, pp. 128, 129, 131, 199. See also Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 156.

² *Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 24. See also Keith's *Catalogue*, pp. 170, 171. Clement, who was elected Bishop of Dunblane in 1233, refers to a vacancy in the see of one hundred years, followed by the appointment of several bishops. See *Registrum de Inchaffray*, p. xxx. If this statement can be relied on, the vacancy must have been previous to the erection or re-erection of the see by King David.

deavoured to acquire independent authority on the accession of his grandson. The Galwegian chief was a munificent benefactor to the Church. He is said to have founded the Premonstratensian abbey of Souleseat, and from it to have brought canons to Whithorn. It is probable that the see of Candida Casa was restored some time before the Premonstratensian monastery was erected there, but the precise date, and the circumstances connected with the foundation, cannot be ascertained. It may be conjectured, from the disputes which afterwards arose between the Kings of the Scots and the Lords of Galloway, relative to the patronage of the see, that David and Fergus were associated in its erection, though the latter was the sole founder of the monastery. The prior and canons of Whithorn formed the chapter of the diocese; and thus, as of old, a monastery was closely connected with the bishopric. The privileges of the canons of Whithorn were not, however, always undisputed. On one occasion at least, as will subsequently be mentioned, the clergy and people of the diocese claimed the right of election; and this contest probably originated in some circumstances connected with the foundation of the see.

The diocese of Galloway comprehended the territory known afterwards as the county of Wigton and the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, as far as the Urr; the district eastward of that river belonging to Glasgow. The first bishop was Gilla Aldan. He was elected early in the reign of David, and having been enjoined by Pope Honorius II. to yield canonical obedience to Thurstan, as his metropolitan, he made the required profession, and was consecrated by the archbishop. In this submission to York the successors of Gilla Aldan acquiesced for several centuries. The new erection was looked upon as a restoration of the see of Pecthelm, and, as the Saxon bishops had undoubtedly been suffragans of York, their successors believed themselves to be subject to the jurisdiction of that metropolis. Had there been the same proof of the subjection of Glasgow to York, which there was in the instance of Candida Casa, there would probably have been the same unhesitating submission.¹

¹ There is considerable difficulty in tracing the early history of the restored see of St. Ninian. On the subject of the erection of the see, and of the Premon-

During the whole reign of David, the diocese of Orkney seems to have been governed by Bishop William.

It is very difficult to trace the succession of bishops in Man. Olave, son of Godred Crovan, had been acknowledged as King of Man in the beginning of the twelfth century, after the death of Magnus Barefoot. He ruled the Isle for forty years. About the commencement of his reign, as formerly mentioned, an Englishman, named Gamaliel, had succeeded Aumond as bishop. According to the Chronicle of Man, Gamaliel was succeeded by Ronald, a Norwegian, and Ronald by Christian, a native of Argyll. Christian probably died after the middle of the century.¹

Instead, however, of Gamaliel, Ronald, and Christian, Stubbs tells us that Wimund was consecrated bishop of the Isles by Thomas, Archbishop of York; and Wendover mentions that the first bishop of Man was Wimund, a monk of Savigny, who, for his perverse disposition, was deprived of sight and banished, and that his successor was John, a monk of Seez, who was appointed to the episcopate in the year 1151.² By "first bishop," Wendover probably means the first who was subject to York, to which Church, he says, the island prelates were suffragans. And this suggests what seems to

stratensian priory of Whithorn, see Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 415-419. See also as to the latter, the Preface to the *Chartulary of Dryburgh*, p. vi. The consecration of Gilla Aldan by Archbishop Thurstan is mentioned by Stubbs—*Decem Scriptores*, p. 1720. The mandate of Pope Honorius, and the profession of obedience by the bishop, are given in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. pp. 1187-1189. In the former writ, the archbishop is called Thomas, by an evident mistake. The original probably had only the initial letter T. The profession of Gilla Aldan is in the following terms:—"Domino et patri suo reverendo Thurstino, Dei gratia, Eborum provinciæ Metropolitanò, Gilla Aldan, humilis electus Candidæ Casæ, salutem et obedientiam. Cognovi, tam scriptis patrum authenticis, quam veredictis antiquorum virorum testimoniis, quod Episcopus Candidæ Casæ, ab antiquo debeat ad matrem suam Eborum metropolitaniam respicere, et in hiis quæ ad Deum pertinent obtemperare: quapropter ego Gilla Aldan, Candidæ Casæ electus, sanctæ Eborum ecclesiæ, et tibi Thurstino et successoribus tuis canonice instituendis, debitam subjectionem a sanctis patribus institutam, et canonicam obedientiam, me a modo servaturum promitto."

¹ *Chronicon Manniæ*, p. 44. The dates in the Chronicle are not given with any precision. Aumond, we are told, was bishop in the days of Godred Crovan—that is, in the latter part of the eleventh century. Bishop Michael died at an advanced age in 1203. The intervening bishops were Gamaliel, Ronald, and Christian. It may therefore be assumed that the dates which I have assigned to Gamaliel and Christian are not far from the truth.

² Stubbs—*Decem Scriptores*, p. 1713. Wendover, vol. ii. p. 250.

be the true explanation of the conflicting accounts—that in Man, as in Orkney, there was sometimes a disputed succession, chiefly proceeding from the attempt of York to extend its metropolitan jurisdiction. Wimund is identified by Keith with Aumond, son of Olave.¹ The names bear a great resemblance, but the one was a monk of Savigny, and appears to have been born in England of obscure lineage; while the other is expressly called the son of Olave, and a native of Man. The chronology also is entirely opposed to this supposition. Wimund died after the middle of the twelfth century; while Aumond was Bishop of Man in the days of Godred Crovan, that is, in the latter half of the eleventh.

As Wimund, however, is also styled Bishop of Man, and as his singular fortunes are mixed up with the history of King David, a brief account of him may be given. He was first known as a transcriber of old writings in religious houses, and afterwards became a Cistercian monk at Furness. He was sent from thence to Man, probably, as Hailes suggests, at the time of the foundation of Rushin Abbey by King Olave. The islanders, won by his personal appearance and accomplishments, were desirous of having him for their bishop, and some sort of irregular election probably took place. He next claimed to be a son of Angus, Earl of Murray, who had fallen in a rebellion against King David in 1130. Collecting a number of followers, he pillaged the coasts of Scotland during several years, but was at last made prisoner, and deprived of sight. After being confined for some time in Roxburgh Castle, he was allowed to end his days in Byland Abbey.²

¹ Historical Catalogue, p. 297.

² The strange adventures of Wimund are recounted by Hailes (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 97-100), chiefly on the authority of William of Newbury. The *Chronicle of Holyrood* (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 161), and Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 2), speak of him under the name of Malcolm Macheth. Although he is called a bishop, it is almost certain that he was never consecrated. He was married to a daughter of Somerled of Argyll, and in the reign of Malcolm IV. his son rose in rebellion against the King of the Scots. Ailred of Rievaulx (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 447) calls him a monk, and pretended bishop, “pseudo-episcopum,” who falsely claimed to be the son of the Earl of Murray. Savigny was the mother-house of Furness, and hence, as Hailes points out, he is said to have been a monk of Savigny. Stubbs’ account of his consecration by Thomas, Archbishop of York, is manifestly inconsistent with chronology. There is probably a considerable amount of fiction in the narratives regarding him.

In the year 1134, King Olave gave to the monks of Furness certain lands in Man, on which Rushin Abbey was erected.¹ On this occasion some arrangement, though perhaps only a temporary one, was made between Olave and the convent of Furness, by which a voice was given to that monastery in the election of a bishop for Man. The king accordingly wrote to Thurstan, Archbishop of York, requesting him to consecrate the person who had been chosen by the Abbot of Furness. The name of the prelate is not given, and we are not told whether the consecration took place. The letter of King Olave is inconsistent with the notion that the Archbishops of York were the recognized metropolitans of Man; it rather implies that the proposal was made out of deference to the abbot, who could not properly acknowledge any other than his own archbishop.²

As formerly mentioned, the Canons-Regular of St. Augustine had been brought into Scotland by Alexander I., who endowed for them the monasteries of Scone and Inchcolm. In the year 1128, King David founded the abbey of Holyrood for the same order. As the name shews, it was dedicated to the Holy Cross, with special reference, it has been supposed, to the Black Rood of Scotland, which St. Margaret and her son held in such veneration. The canons are said to have been brought from St. Andrews.³

The monastery of Canons-Regular at Jedburgh was erected

¹ *Chronicon Manniæ*, p. 13.

² "De cætero significamus vobis, quod dominus Abbas Furneseiensis coenobii, a cuius finibus non longe per mare distamus, . . . ad nos usque pervenit, deinceps et nostro decreto et plebis consultu sancitum est inter nos ut ex suis pontifex eligatur, qui Christianitati per insulas gentium propagandæ præficeretur. Quapropter ad vos conclamamus, vestraque benignitatis gratiam humiliter imploramus . . . scilicet ut episcopus noster ad episcopi gradum sub auctoritatis vestrae signaculo, pro Dei amore et nostro, quam citius fieri potest promoveatur, narrante nobis igitur Domino Abbate tam mira tamque sancta de vobis, dicenteque se nolle nec posse ad alium quempiam ire nisi ad vos patrem suum." Letter, King Olave to Archbishop Thurstan—*Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1186. The text of this letter in the *Monasticon* is very corrupt, and some corrections have been attempted in the above quotation.

³ On the subject of the foundation of Holyrood, see *Monumenta Ecclesiæ S. Crucis*, preface, pp. x. xvi. xviii.; *Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. pp. 160, 161; *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 68; *Spottiswood's Religious Houses*, Russell's ed. p. 389; *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 752, 753. See also the writ, called the great charter of David—*Monumenta Ecclesiæ S. Crucis*, p. 3-6.

by David, according to Winton, in the year 1118, while he was yet Prince of Cumbria; but it was at first only a priory, and was not made an abbey till near the end of his reign. We find Daniel, Prior of Jedburgh, witnessing a charter of David to Coldingham in 1139. Osbert, who probably succeeded Daniel, is for some time called prior; but in 1152 he is styled abbot. Jedburgh Abbey was dedicated to St. Mary, and the canons are said to have been brought from the abbey of St. Quentin, at Beauvais.¹

King David also founded the abbey of Canons-Regular at Cambuskenneth. The precise date of the foundation is not known, but it was prior to the year 1147. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and the canons are said to have come from Aroise, near Arras. It was sometimes called the abbey of Stirling, either from its vicinity to that town, or because it may have originally been built within it.²

The Reformed Canons-Regular of the Premonstratensian order are said to have been first brought to Scotland by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, who founded for them the abbey of Soulseat. This monastery, as already mentioned, was probably the mother-house of Whithorn, and its superior took precedence of all the Premonstratensian abbots in Scotland. The precise date of the foundation is uncertain. The canons were brought directly from the chief monastery of the order at Premontre. Soulseat was sometimes called *Monasterium Viridis Stagni*, from the small lake on the banks of which it was built.³

The abbey of Tunland is also said to have been founded by Fergus for Premonstratensian canons brought from Cocker-sand, in Lancashire. Another house of the same order was the monastery of Holywood, which, it is supposed, was likewise founded in the reign of David. This abbey was sometimes styled *Dercongal*—no doubt the original Celtic name of the

¹ See Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 4, and *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 368, and authorities there cited. The foundation charter of David is not known to exist. The tradition that Beauvais was the mother-house of Jedburgh is confirmed by Ailred's enumeration (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 442) of the different orders for which King David founded monasteries.

² See foundation charter—*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 47; Dalryell's *Brief Analysis of the Chartularies of Cambuskenneth, &c.*, p. 12-15; Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 390, 391.

³ Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 398. Chalmers's *Calcedonia*, vol. iii. p. 420. Preface to the *Chartulary of Dryburgh*, p. vi.

place where it was erected. The canons came thither from Souleseat.¹

In the year 1150, the Premonstratensian monastery of St. Mary at Dryburgh was erected on the banks of the Tweed. The foundation is sometimes ascribed to Hugh de Morville and his wife Beatrice de Beauchamp, sometimes to King David. Morville was one of the Anglo-Norman barons who followed David to his Scottish kingdom, in which he held the dignity of Constable. It is probable that the king and the constable were joint founders of the monastery. The canons were brought from Alnwick. In the thirteenth century, Dryburgh became the mother-house of Drumcross and Woodburn in Ulster.²

David was munificent in his gifts to his mother's foundation of Dunfermline; and, as already stated, there is reason to think that it first became a Benedictine monastery in the beginning of his reign, when it was supplied with monks from Canterbury.³ At Urquhart, in Murray, King David founded a priory in subordination to Dunfermline. The church of Urquhart, like that of the mother-house, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity.⁴

The foundation of the Benedictine abbey of Selkirk by David, while Prince of Cumbria, has already been related. After his accession to the Scottish crown, it was removed to a more convenient situation at Kelso, in the neighbourhood of the royal castle of Roxburgh, where the church of St. Mary, and the usual monastic buildings, were erected. The new church was founded in 1128.⁵ In the year 1144, the priory

¹ Spottiswood's Religious Houses, pp. 339, 400. Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii. pp. 149, 150, 302. Preface to the Chartulary of Dryburgh, pp. vi. vii.

² See foundation charter—Chartulary of Dryburgh, pp. lxi. lxx.; see also Preface to that Chartulary, pp. v. vi. x.; Chronica de Mailros, pp. 74, 75, 78; Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. vi. p. 1152; Spottiswood's Religious Houses, pp. 399, 400; Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 109; Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 336; Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 291-295.

³ See King David's two charters of confirmation—Registrum de Dunfermline, p. 3-7; Preface to the same Chartulary, p. xi.; Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 161; Scotichronicon, lib. v. c. 48; Spottiswood's Religious Houses, pp. 402, 403.

⁴ Foundation charter—Registrum de Dunfermline, pp. 17, 18; and Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. pp. 329, 330.

⁵ Foundation charter of Kelso—Liber de Kelso, p. 5-7, and Preface to that Chartulary, pp. vii. viii. Chronica de Mailros, pp. 69, 73. Scotichronicon, lib. v. c. 36. Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 78, 80.

of Lismahago, in Clydesdale, was founded by King David as a cell to Kelso. The church was dedicated, as the name implies, to St. Machut.¹

The Benedictine abbey of Kilwinning is said to have been founded in 1140 by Hugh de Morville. The monks came thither from Kelso, and the church was dedicated to St. Winnin, probably one of the many Irish saints known in their own land by the name of Finian.²

None of the monastic orders was more highly favoured by King David than the Cistercians, whose houses were established throughout the whole of Western Christendom during the lifetime of St. Bernard. One of the earliest English monasteries was Rievaulx, founded by Walter Espec, the king's opponent at the battle of the Standard. The white monks had come thither direct from Clairvaux, under their abbot William, and from him King David received the colony which was established at Melrose in 1136. This monastery was built somewhat higher up the Tweed than the foundation of St. Aidan. If the old monastery was ever rebuilt after it had been burned by Kenneth Mac-Alpin, it must have been again destroyed during the invasions of Northumbria by the Danes in the same century. When Turgot resided there, it seems to have been in ruins. It was now restored in a manner worthy of its ancient fame, and was dedicated, as all the Cistercian houses were, to St. Mary.³

The next Cistercian foundation in Scotland was Newbottle. The abbey there was erected by King David in 1140. The monks are said to have been brought from Melrose.⁴

The abbey of Kinloss, in Murray, was founded by King David in 1150. The monks came from Melrose.⁵

In the same year, the Cistercian abbey of Holmcultram, in Cumberland, was founded by Prince Henry. The monks

¹ Foundation charter—*Liber de Kelso*, pp. 9, 10, and Preface to that Chartulary, p. xxii. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 640, 641. Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 79, 80, 146. *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 110.

² Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 407, 408. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 484.

³ Foundation charter—*Chartulary of Melrose*, pp. 3, 4. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 70. Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 197, 202.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 71. Preface to the Chartulary of Newbottle, p. xiv.

⁵ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 74. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 32.

were sent thither from Melrose by St. Waltheof, under the direction of his friend Everard, who became the first abbot of the new monastery.¹

The Cistercian abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, was erected in 1142. The foundation is ascribed by Fordun to the king, but there is reason rather to believe the general tradition which ascribes it to Fergus, Lord of Galloway. The monks are said to have been brought from Rievaux.²

Reference was formerly made to the female monastic institute of St. Columba and his disciples. It is probable that the nunneries in Northern Britain, whether of Celtic or of Saxon foundation, were ruined during the Norse invasions. We hear little or nothing of such establishments in the Scottish Church, after the removal of the primacy from Iona. Nunneries were restored, in connection with the new religious orders, in the reign of David. The king himself is said to have founded a monastery for Cistercian nuns at Berwick-on-Tweed. This was a richly-endowed house, and had several cells dependent upon it.³

The introduction of the military orders into Scotland is also to be ascribed to King David. From him the Templars are said to have received their chief establishment at the Temple, in Mid-Lothian, and the Knights of St. John their seat at Torphichen.⁴

The diocesan system of the Scottish Church, so imperfect at the accession of David, was almost complete before the close of his reign. The Norse dioceses of Man and Orkney were afterwards united, ecclesiastically as well as civilly, to Scotland; but only one new bishopric, that of Argyll, was erected during the whole period between his decease and the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Many years elapsed be-

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 74. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 32. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. v. pp. 593, 594.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 72. *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 43. *Spottiswood's Religious Houses*, p. 417. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 301.

³ *Spottiswood's Religious Houses*, pp. 460, 461. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 341.

⁴ *Spottiswood's Religious Houses*, pp. 435, 438. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 767, 768, 874, 875. The introduction of the Templars into Scotland by David is confirmed by what Ailred mentions (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 446) of the special regard which he had for the brethren of that order.

fore metropolitan rule was established. In most other respects, however, the government and discipline of the Scottish Church resembled those of the rest of Western Christendom.

The erection of cathedrals at St. Andrews and Glasgow has been mentioned. The other dioceses soon followed the example which had been given in the chief sees, and chapters were gradually established, to which in name, and sometimes in reality, belonged the power of electing the bishops, and which acted as the episcopal councils in the administration of ecclesiastical government. The prior and canons of the Augustinian monastery of St. Andrews formed the chapter of the primatial see; the prior and Premonstratensian canons of Whithorn were the chapter of Galloway. All the other cathedral chapters were ultimately composed of secular clergy. The secular chapters varied in the number of the canons, but in other respects bore a close resemblance to each other, and to similar bodies in England, and on the continent. In the dioceses of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Murray, Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and Dunblane, the chapters were presided over by a Dean, under whom the chief dignitaries were the Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor, and Treasurer. The chapter of Sarum supplied a model for Glasgow and Dunkeld, and probably for others of the Scottish dioceses; the constitution of Murray was borrowed from Lincoln.

The greater dioceses were soon divided into rural deaneries, those of St. Andrews and Glasgow having each also two archdeaconries. The diocese of St. Andrews was divided into the archdeaconries of St. Andrews and Lothian, that of Glasgow into Glasgow and Teviotdale. The rural deaneries of St. Andrews were eight in number—Fife, Fotheric, Gowrie, Angus, Mearns, Linlithgow, Lothian, and the Merse; those of Glasgow were nine in number—Lanark, Rutherglen, Lennox, Kyle and Cunningham, Carrick, Peebles, Teviotdale, Nithsdale, and Annandale. There were four rural deaneries in Murray—Elgin, Inverness, Strathspey, and Strathbogie. The diocese of Aberdeen was at first divided into three deaneries—Mar, Buchan, and Garioch; afterwards into five—Mar, Buchan, Boyne, Garioch, and Aberdeen; and for some time before the Reformation there was also a deanery of Forinartine. The diocese of Galloway contained

three rural deaneries—Desnes, Farnes, and Rinnes. In the diocese of Dunkeld, prior to the episcopate of Bishop Brown in the end of the fifteenth century, there seems to have been only one rural deanery; but that prelate established four—one embracing Atholl and Drumalban, another the parishes in Angus, a third those in Fife, Fothrie, and Stratherne, and the last those beyond the Forth. I am not aware of any division into rural deaneries, in the dioceses of Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and Dunblane.¹

Along with its diocesan and cathedral system, the Scottish Church likewise adopted from England its liturgical offices and ritual. These were probably received during the reign of David. There is sufficient evidence that the Sarum breviary and missal became the authorised use of all the Scottish dioceses.

Something may now be said of the domestic life of King David. His marriage with Matilda was a happy one, but she would seem to have been taken from him some years after his accession to the crown. Prince Henry emulated his father's virtues, and resembled him in character, differing only in this, as we are told by Ailred, that his temper was even more sweet. "Mild he was, and pious," adds the Abbot of Rievaulx, "of a gentle spirit, and most loving heart, worthy in all things to be

¹ See as to the rural deaneries in the dioceses of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Murray, and Aberdeen, and the parishes which they contained, *Registrum Priorat. S. Andree*, pp. 28-37, 355-358; *Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 203-211; *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, p. 232-245; *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 362-366; *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. p. 52-56; *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* vol. i. p. lxiii-lxxvii.; *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 216-221. The existence of a rural deanery of Formartine is proved by a writ of William, Bishop of Aberdeen, in the year 1547, printed in the *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 309. The three deaneries of Galloway are mentioned in the *Liber Cartarum S. Crucis*, p. 40; and the division of Dunkeld into four rural deaneries is related by Mylne, *Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkelden.* p. 30. The rural deaneries of Argyll will afterwards be mentioned in connection with the foundation of that diocese. There were probably rural deaneries in the Scottish diocese of the Isles, since we find a Dean of Mull among the witnesses to a charter of Ferquhard, Bishop of the Isles, in 1532; see *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 158. The boundaries of the dioceses and rural deaneries are marked in the ecclesiastical map of Scotland, prefixed to Mr. Cosmo Innes's *Scotland in the Middle Ages*.

² See a valuable paper by Thomas Innes, printed in the second volume of the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, p. 364-367.

born of such a father. With him I lived from my childhood, and I grew up a boy, the companion of his boyhood ; I was the intimate friend of his youth ; and when I left him in body to serve my Saviour, I was ever with him in mind and in affection." Henry was married to Ada, daughter of the Earl of Surrey, a virtuous and noble lady, nearly related to the royal house of France. By her he had three sons, Malcolm and William, afterwards Kings of Scotland, and David, Earl of Huntingdon ; and three daughters, Ada, the wife of Florence, Count of Holland, Margaret, married to Conan, Duke of Britany, and Matilda, who died unmarried. Margaret and Conan had a daughter Constance, who became the wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and mother of the young Duke Arthur.

After Prince Henry had grown up to manhood, he was seized with a dangerous illness. St. Malachy was then passing through Scotland on his way from Rome to Ireland, and David entreated his prayers for his son. The bishop sprinkled Henry with holy water, and said : " Be of good comfort, my son, thou shalt not die at this time." The following day he began to recover. St. Bernard mentions the circumstance in his *Life of St. Malachy*, and adds—" This is that Henry who still lives, the only son of King David, a wise and valiant knight, and following his father's footsteps in his zeal for justice, and love of the truth." In the year 1152, the prince again became ill, and his disease on this occasion was fatal. He died on the twelfth of June, regretted by all.¹

The intimacy of Ailred with Prince Henry has been alluded to. He was for some time brought up in David's family, which he left to become a monk at Rievaulx. Ailred's life belongs properly to the history of the English Church ; but another famous Cistercian saint was more closely connected with Scotland and the household of David.

Queen Matilda had two sons by her first husband, the Earl of Northampton. The elder of these was named Simon, after his father ; the younger bore the name of his maternal grandfather, Waltheof, who was revered as a martyr by the English. The difference in the character of the two boys was apparent from childhood. Simon constructed mimic castles,

¹ *Vitæ Antiquæ*, pp. 447, 448. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 74. *Scotchchronicon*, lib. v. c. 43. Hailes, vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

which he attacked and defended in company with his playfellows; Waltheof piled up edifices resembling churches, and imitated the performance of priestly functions. The one grew up a brave warrior, maintaining and extending his paternal possessions, yet conducting himself, in his latter days at least, as became a Christian knight; the other in early manhood retired from the world, to embrace a religious life.

After his mother's second marriage, Waltheof was educated at the court of David. He was greatly beloved by the king, who frequently made him his companion, and gave him his bow to carry at the chase. At such times he would often withdraw from the hunters, and, retiring to the thickest part of the forest, would give himself up to reading or to prayer. The king on one occasion came upon him while so engaged, and on his return said to Matilda: "Your son is not as one of us. The world has no attractions for him. He will soon either be taken from us altogether, or retire to a monastery." Waltheof anxiously reflected on his future course. He was resolved to adopt a religious life, but was afraid to enter a monastery within his stepfather's kingdom, or his brother's earldom, lest he should be compelled to accept some high office in the Church. He therefore betook himself to St. Oswald's, near Pontefract, where he became a Canon-Regular. In the course of time he was chosen to fill the office of sacristan of his monastery, and afterwards, in obedience to the express command of his superior, he accepted the dignity of Prior of Kirkham. He acquired such reputation while he was a member of the Augustinian order, that it is said he would have been appointed Archbishop of York on the death of Thurstan, if the election had not been prevented by King Stephen, who dreaded the influence which David would thereby acquire in England. Waltheof himself, instead of seeking promotion, deliberated as to the propriety of embracing a life yet more strict, and after anxious thought resolved to become a Cistercian monk. He resided first at Warden, and afterwards at Rievaulx; and in the year 1148 succeeded Richard, as abbot of Melrose.

It was by Waltheof's advice that Kinloss was founded by David, and Holmcultram by Prince Henry. He afterwards assisted Malcolm IV. with his counsel in the erection of the

Cistercian monastery of Cupar, and Ada, that sovereign's mother, in the foundation of a nunnery of the same order at Haddington. On the death of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, Waltheof was chosen his successor. The clergy and chief nobles of the kingdom came to Melrose to entreat his acceptance of the office; but though Ailred, who was then on a visit to the monastery, enjoined him to submit, he firmly declined the primacy as a burden too heavy for him to bear. "I have put off my coat," he said, "how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how can I defile them again with the dust of worldly care?" Pointing with his finger to a place near the entrance to the chapter-house, which he thereby marked out as his grave, he added: "Behold my place of rest. Here will I dwell as long as the Lord permits."

The Abbot of Melrose was famous for his works of piety and mercy. Miracles were believed to have been wrought by him while living; and, after his death, sick people came to his tomb, expecting to be healed. His decease took place on the third of August, 1159. His obsequies were celebrated by Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow; and Joceline says that thenceforth Melrose became as renowned on account of the relics of Waltheof, as Durham was in respect of St. Cuthbert, or Canterbury of St. Alphege.¹

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Augusti, vol. i. Vita S. Waltheni. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. cc. 4-8, 25, 28-34. The Life of Waltheof was written by Joceline of Furness, the well known biographer of St. Patrick and St. Kentigern. It partakes, to a considerable extent, of the suspicious character which marks the other works of that writer; but, as it was composed within less than half a century after the death of Waltheof, and as the author had the fullest means of acquiring information, the chief events of the Life may be relied on as correct. It is dedicated to William, King of Scotland, his son Alexander, and his brother David, and openly asserts their right of succession to the English crown, as the true heirs of the Saxon line. A large portion of the Life was inserted by Fordun in the *Scotichronicon*, and the whole was published by the Bollandists, from a manuscript preserved in an Augustinian monastery in the diocese of Paderborn. Pinkerton was not aware of this publication. In the address to the reader, prefixed to his *Vitæ Antiquæ*, he speaks of Joceline's work as lost: "*Solus Sanctus Scotiæ hodiernæ, cujus vitam, quanquam certissime scriptam, non reperi, est Wallenus.*" "*Extat tamen maxima ex parte apud Fordunum.*" As Pinkerton had gone over the volumes of the Bollandists for the purpose of extracting those Lives which related to Scotland, it may seem singular that he did not observe the work of Joceline. But at that time he had probably no opportunity of examining the *Acta Sanctorum* with minute attention. It appears

Such were the nearest kinsfolk and most trusted friends of David. A beautiful picture of the life and character of the king himself has been preserved by Ailred, and, bright as the colours are, there is no reason to think that they exceed the truth.

David would rather have shunned the cares of royalty, but, called by God's providence to the throne, he discharged with zeal the high duties of his kingly office. In the difficult task of civilizing his barbarous people, he was at last successful, but he had many obstacles to overcome. He was frequently called upon to punish those who broke his laws, and, meek as his nature was, offenders were soon taught that he did not bear the sword in vain. Although he wept when obliged to inflict punishment, he never shrunk from his duty in that respect. He knew that the strict administration of the law was one of his highest functions, and he was particularly careful that those who stood most in need of his aid should never seek it in vain. To the poor, the widow, and the orphan, he was always easy of access, and they were at once admitted to his presence, whatever other business might require his attention. "Often have I seen, with my own eyes," says Ailred, "when he was ready to set out for the chase, and his feet were already in the stirrup, how at the voice of a poor man he would return, and patiently listen to his complaint." On certain days he sat at his palace gate to hear the petitions of the poor and destitute, and when they were in the wrong, while he would never accept their persons against what was right, he would patiently try to convince them of their error.¹

The duties of each hour were fixed; devotion, business, and relaxation, had all their appointed time. He took great delight in planting herbs and engrafting trees, and was able, by his own example, to instruct his people in architecture and gardening, in the cultivation of orchards, and in other useful arts.²

Approaching thus in all respects to the model of a perfect

from his *Correspondence* (vol. i. pp. 338, 342), that in 1793, four years after the publication of the *Vitæ Antiquæ*, there were only two complete copies of the work of the Bollandists to be found in England.

¹ *Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 441-444.

² *Ibid.* p. 444.

king, on one occasion he afforded just cause of offence. "It must be admitted," the affectionate Ailred remarks, "that our David also sinned." When the Scottish army invaded England, they were guilty of great cruelty and excesses. These were committed in direct opposition to the orders of the king; "but still," continues Ailred, "as he might have abstained from leading his soldiers thither, as he might have declined leading them a second time after he had witnessed their cruelty, as he might perhaps have even restrained them more than he did, I will confess with tears, that he did wrong. Let others plead for him the oath which he swore to the Empress, and his loyalty to the true heir; I will make no excuse. I will rather say, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.' " And so deeply did he feel the offence which he had thus committed, that he would have resigned the crown, and gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, had not the remonstrances of his clergy, and the tears and entreaties of the whole kingdom, prevented him.¹

When Prince Henry died, the king acknowledged the fatherly correction of God in the bereavement. He shed no tears in public, and on the day of his son's decease dined in royal state as usual. But from that time he prepared himself with more earnestness for his own departure. He made his will, doubled his alms to the poor, and attended with more strict devotion to his religious duties, confessing his sins, and receiving the Holy Communion every Sunday.²

But his kingly duties were not forgotten. To provide for the quiet succession to the throne, he caused the Earl of Fife, at the head of an army, to conduct the youthful Malcolm, the eldest son of Prince Henry, through the different provinces of Scotland, and proclaim him heir of the crown. He himself took his second grandson, William, to Newcastle, where the boy received the homage of the Northumbrians as their earl. After Easter in the following year, the king repaired to Carlisle, and while residing there was seized with his last illness.³

His sickness continued to increase, and he soon saw that there

¹ Ibid. pp. 445, 446.

² Ibid. pp. 447, 448.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 44.

was no hope of recovery. For a short time he was able to attend regularly in his chapel, both at mass and at the ordinary canonical hours, but on Friday, the twenty-second of May, he became unable to walk or to stand. Desiring to receive the Communion, the priests prepared to administer it in his chamber, but he forbade them, saying that he would partake of the holy mysteries before the holy altar. The ecclesiastics and soldiers in attendance carried him into the chapel, and when mass was said he requested the Black Rood to be brought to him. This was the same cross which had comforted his mother's deathbed. He received it with devout veneration, and, having confessed his sins with many tears, strengthened himself for his approaching departure with the heavenly banquet. When he was carried back to his apartment, preparation was made for giving him extreme unction. Rising as well as he could, and prostrating himself on the ground, he received the rite with humble devotion, checking the priests in their attempt to chant the service more quickly than usual, listening attentively to each word, and making the response to every prayer.

On the following day he recited devoutly the hundred and nineteenth Psalm. When he came to the sixteenth portion, he repeated it seven times, dwelling with deep emotion on the words, "I have done judgment and justice; leave me not to mine oppressors." Looking up during the recitation, he saw his almoner Nicholas standing beside the bed. Stretching out his hand and embracing him, he asked if the daily alms had been given to the poor. When he was told that all was done as usual, he gave thanks to God, and continued the Psalm. In the same manner he repeated seven times the hundred and twentieth Psalm, feeling in it great sweetness and comfort. His friends entreated him to pause a little. "Suffer me," he said, "rather to meditate on heavenly things, that my soul, now about to escape from its earthly prison, may return to its own home, refreshed with the viaticum of the word of God. For when I stand before the dreadful judgment seat of God, none of you can answer for me, none of you can intercede for me; there is no one who can deliver me out of his hand."

Thus the day passed over. At sunrise on the following

morning, being the twenty-fourth day of May, 1153, and the Sunday before the feast of the Ascension, the King of the Scots was taken to his rest.¹

David was buried at Dunfermline, beside his father and mother. He was never formally canonized, but he was revered as a saint by the succeeding generations of his countrymen. Ailred in glowing language records the virtues, and bewails the loss, of his patron and friend; but David's best memorial was his own holy life, and the blessings which he conferred on his kingdom.

¹ *Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 451-456. *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 55-59.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE DEATH OF ST. DAVID IN 1153, TO THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM
THE LION IN 1214.

Accession of Malcolm IV.—Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews—Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews—Death of King Malcolm—Monastic foundations of the reign of Malcolm—Accession of William the Lion—Captivity of King William—His release—Treaty of Falaise—Council of Northampton—Foundation of Arbroath—John the Scot elected to the see of St. Andrews—Contest regarding his election—Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews—William Malvoisin, Bishop of St. Andrews—Death of King William—Monastic foundations of the reign of William—Notices of Iona—Succession of Bishops—Foundation of the Bishopric of Argyll.

ON the death of David, his grandson and successor Malcolm, then in his twelfth year, was crowned at Scone. Malcolm soon found himself involved in a contest with the King of England. Henry Plantagenet had been knighted by King David, and had sworn on that occasion to cede to the Scottish sovereign the territory between the Tweed and the Tyne. The county of Northumberland was actually in possession of David at the time of his death. Henry, however, compelled Malcolm to surrender not only that province, but also the city of Carlisle, and to receive in exchange the earldom of Huntingdon. Malcolm was a brave and accomplished prince, but he allowed himself to be overborne by the more resolute will and higher ability of his powerful kinsman. He accompanied Henry in an expedition to France, and received knighthood at his hand. In his own kingdom he acted with the hereditary vigour of his race. He suppressed two dangerous revolts, the one headed by Donald, son of the pretender Wilmund, the other by Fergus, Lord of Galloway. Donald was imprisoned with his father at Roxburgh; the Lord of Galloway was compelled to become a canon at Holyrood.

In 1159, Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, died after a primacy of thirty-five years.¹ The choice of the canons, as already mentioned, fell on St. Waltheof. When he refused the see, some difficulties appear to have occurred in filling it, and William, Bishop of Murray, and Nicholas, the king's chamberlain, were sent by Malcolm on an embassy to Rome, in order to obtain the papal sanction to an arrangement, the particular nature of which is not explained. Pope Alexander declined to accede to the king's request, but received the envoys with great honour, and conferred the office of legate in Scotland on the Bishop of Murray. After their return, Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, was elected Bishop of St. Andrews on the thirteenth day of November, 1160, and was consecrated by the legate on the following Sunday, within the church of St. Rule, in the presence of King Malcolm and many of the bishops, abbots, and chief nobles of the land.² Bishop Arnold laid the foundation of the new cathedral of St. Andrews, and for some time held the office of apostolic legate. He died in September, 1162.³

Richard, the king's chaplain, was elected bishop in 1163, and on the twenty eighth day of March, 1165, being Palm Sunday, was consecrated at St. Andrews by the Scottish prelates.⁴ The delay in his consecration was probably caused by a revival of the pretensions of the see of York. The archbishop, Roger, by virtue of his legatine authority, which extended over Scotland, summoned the Scottish clergy to meet him at Norham. Ingelram, Archdeacon and Bishop-elect of Glasgow, Solomon, Dean of Glasgow, and Walter, Prior of Kelso, went thither on the part of their brethren, but, finding that the archbishop insisted on his claims, they appealed to Rome. The decision is not mentioned. If any was pronounced, it was probably favourable to Scotland, since Ingelram was consecrated by the Pope himself to the see

¹ Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 161. Chronica de Mailros, p. 76.

² Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra, vol. i. pp. 161, 162. Chronica de Mailros, pp. 76, 77. Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. 35. See Letter of Alexander II. to the clergy of Scotland, in Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

³ Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 162. Chronica de Mailros, pp. 77, 78. Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. 35.

⁴ Chronica de Mailros, pp. 78, 79.

of Glasgow, notwithstanding the opposition of the envoys of York.¹

King Malcolm died on the ninth of December, 1165, and was buried at Dunfermline. His personal character is now known not to have been marked by the stainless purity for which his father and grandfather had been distinguished: in other respects he was not unworthy to succeed them.

King Malcolm, at the suggestion of St. Waltheof, erected a Cistercian monastery at Cupar in Angus.² He also founded a nunnery of the same order at Manuel, near Linlithgow, and an hospital at Soltra, on the boundaries of Lothian and Lauderdale.³ The erection of several other Cistercian nunneries is ascribed to this reign. Eccles and Coldstream in the Merse were founded by Earl Cospatrik; and Haddington by the King's mother, the countess Ada. The erection of North Berwick may be ascribed to the same period, though the precise date is uncertain. The Earls of Fife, if not the founders, were the patrons and chief benefactors of that nunnery.⁴ Before the end of Malcolm's reign the Cistercian abbey of Saddell or Sandale, in Cantyre, was founded by Reginald, son of Somerled, King of the Isles.⁵ The Benedictine nunnery of Lincluden is likewise said to have been founded at this time by Uchtred, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway.⁶

But the most important monastic erection of the reign of Malcolm was Paisley. It was founded for Cluniac monks, now for the first time introduced into the kingdom, by Walter, son of Alan, the Steward of Scotland. The foundation took place about the year 1163. The monks were brought from Wenlock in Shropshire, and the church was dedicated to St.

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 79. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 15.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 78. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 32; lib. viii. c. 7. Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 419, 420.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 7. Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 461, 462, 479. See also Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 508-510, and the reference there made to the unprinted *Chartulary of Soltra*.

⁴ Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 461, 463. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 342, 343, 503-505. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 75. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 32. *Charters of North Berwick*, pp. 4, 5, 17, and preface, p. x.

⁵ Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 421. *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii. part i. p. 23.

⁶ Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 459. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 307.

James and St. Mirrin. The monastery was governed by priors till the year 1245, when an abbot was appointed, with the permission of the head of the Cluniac order. The prior of Paisley, however, was from the first independent of Wenlock.¹

William, the second son of Prince Henry, succeeded his brother Malcolm, and was enthroned by Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews, on Christmas-eve, 1165. The young King of the Scots requested the English sovereign to restore his earldom of Northumberland, and, on his refusal, allied himself with the rebellious barons who were leagued against King Henry, under that monarch's eldest son. William invaded Northumberland, but was surprized and taken by a body of English horsemen, under Ranulph de Glanville, in the neighbourhood of Alnwick—the place which, eighty years before, had witnessed the death of Malcolm Canmore. The Scottish nobles and clergy, anxious for their sovereign's release, obtained his liberty, on condition that he should do homage to Henry for his whole dominions. This treaty, so pernicious to Scotland, was concluded at Falaise, in Normandy, in December, 1174.

King Henry endeavoured, at the same time, to subject the Scottish Church to the supremacy of the English primates; but the ecclesiastical conditions of the agreement were expressed in terms which left the question of independence open. It was stipulated on the part of King William, his brother Earl David, and his barons and liegemen, that the Scottish Church should yield such subjection to that of England in time to come as was just, and as it was wont to pay in the time of King Henry's predecessors; and Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews, Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, Geoffrey, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Herbert, Prior of Coldingham, on the

¹ See foundation charter—Chartulary of Paisley, pp. 1, 2, and the preface to that Register, p. iii.-v.; Spottiswood's Religious Houses, p. 412; Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 819-822; Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 68, 69. If Chalmers is to be relied on, Paisley was "the most opulent monastery in the south of Scotland, except Kelso; and the only monasteries on the north of the Forth that exceeded it were those of St. Andrews, Dunfermline, and Aberbrothock. But all these were of royal foundation, and there was not in all Scotland any example of a monastic establishment being so liberally endowed by a private family, as that of Paisley was by the first three Stewarts." Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 822.

part of the Scottish clergy, agreed that the English Church should have such supremacy over Scotland as in right it ought to have, and promised that they would not oppose the lawful claims of the English Church.¹ "A memorable clause," Lord Hailes remarks, "drawn up with so much skill as to leave entire the question of the independence of the Scottish Church. Henry and his ministers could never have overlooked such studied ambiguity of expression. The clause therefore does honour to the Scottish clergy, who, in that evil day, stood firm to their privileges, and left the question of the independence of the national Church to be agitated on a more fit occasion, and in better times."²

Two years afterwards, the ecclesiastical conditions of the treaty of Falaise became the subject of formal discussion. A council was held at Northampton, in 1176, by the Cardinal Huguccio Petreleoni, the legate of Pope Alexander III. The Kings of England and Scotland, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Murray, Galloway, and Caithness, were present. King Henry required the Scottish Church to yield that obedience to England which, in terms of the treaty, it was bound to give. The Scottish bishops answered that they never had been subject to the English Church, and that they ought not to be. Roger, Archbishop of York, contended that the Bishops of Glasgow and Galloway had always been subordinate to the see of York. Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, denied this, so far as his own Church was concerned, affirming that his see was the special daughter of Rome, and exempt from all jurisdiction, except that of the Pope. The claims of York were likewise opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who maintained that it was to his see the Scottish Church

¹ "Concessit autem rex Scotiæ, et David frater suus, et barones, et alii homines sui, domino regi, quod ecclesia Scoticana talem subjectionem amodo faciet ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, qualem illi facere debet, et solebat tempore regum Angliæ predecessorum suorum. Similiter Ricardus episcopus Sancti Andree, et Ricardus episcopus de Dunkeldyn, et Galfridus abbas de Dunfermelyn, et Herbertus prior de Coldingham, concesserunt quod etiam ecclesia Anglicana illud jus habeat in ecclesia Scotiæ, quod de jure habere debet, et quod ipsi non erunt contra jus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." *Fœdera*, vol. i. pars i. p. 30. See also Hoveden—*Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 545.

² *Annals*, vol. i. p. 131.

was subject. This assertion was fortunate for Scotland. The English king, perplexed by the conflicting claims of his archbishops, allowed the council to be dissolved, without any resolution being come to.¹

The captivity of William appears to have exercised a favourable influence on his character. Remaining bold and resolute as before, he shewed no traces, in the subsequent years of his reign, of the rashness which led to the disaster at Alnwick. His ecclesiastical policy was marked by the same features which distinguished his secular government. He resembled his predecessor Alexander I., both in the munificence of his religious foundations, and in his maintenance of the independence of the Scottish Church, and his jealous assertion of the rights of the crown in the election of bishops.

On the first of August, 1177, the cardinal-legate, Vivianus Thomasius, held a council of the Scottish bishops at Edinburgh. Some of the ancient canons were again promulgated, and new ones were enacted. The legate had been in Scotland the previous year, when his proceedings would seem to have occasioned great dissatisfaction.²

At the Lateran Council of 1179, several bishops and abbots

¹ Hoveden, p. 550. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. cc. 25, 26. *Lyttleton's History of Henry II.*, vol. iii. p. 476. *Hailes*, vol. i. pp. 133, 134; vol. iii. pp. 201, 202. "The proceedings at Northampton clearly discover the forgery of the letter said to have been written to Pope Alexander by William, and transmitted by the Pope to the Archbishop and chapter of York, in which William is made to acknowledge that the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York did extend over Scotland, and to aver that he himself had sworn to support it; Nicolson, *Scots Historical Library*, app. p. 138." (*Hailes*, vol. i. pp. 133, 134.) This letter is also to be found in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1186, and in *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 481, 482. In his account of the Council of Northampton, Fordun inserts a speech which, he states, was delivered by a young Scottish ecclesiastic named Gilbert, who is said by Bower to have been the same as the famous Bishop of Caithness of that name. This speech was carefully copied by succeeding Scottish writers. Whether it was ever really delivered may be doubted: in any event, the speaker was not St. Gilbert, who was raised to the see of Caithness in 1223, and died in 1245. See the Preface to the *Chartulary of Murray*, pp. xliii. xlv., and *Records of the Bishopric of Caithness*, p. 14.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 88. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 25. All that we know of the legate's conduct in 1176 is derived from a few words in the *Chronicle of Melrose*: "Wivianus, tituli Sancti Stephani in Celio Monte presbyter cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, Scotiam intravit, conculcans et comminuens obvia quæque, expeditus capere, nec impeditus rapere."

from Scotland were present.¹ This is the first occasion on which we find Scottish prelates attending a general synod.

In the year 1178, King William founded the great Benedictine abbey of Arbroath. The monks were brought from Kelso. Before the end of his reign the abbey was endowed with possessions extending from the Forth to the Ness. The church of Arbroath was dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. It has been thought singular that William, who so resolutely maintained his own prerogative, should pay this honour to Archbishop Becket. The most natural explanation is, that he shared the deep feeling of veneration with which the primate's memory was regarded throughout Christendom. This would not be lessened by the circumstance that his own capture at Alnwick had taken place on the same day that King Henry did penance before the martyr's tomb at Canterbury. William also had been on terms of personal intimacy with the archbishop, and to this the foundation of Arbroath has been attributed.²

Almost at the very time that the King of the Scots was thus shewing his reverence for the English primate, he became involved in a contest, which, in some respects, resembled the dispute between Henry and Becket, and which, more than anything else, gave room for the assertion that in his conduct towards the Church he imitated the tyranny of the Norman sovereigns of England.³

Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews, died in 1178, and the

¹ Hoveden, p. 582.

² See foundation charter—*Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, p. 1-8, and preface to that *Chartulary*, p. xi.-xix. "*Rex vero Willelmus Scottorum supra memoratus, ob familiarem amorem inter ipsum et Sanctum Thomam, dum adhuc in curia Regis Henrici esset, contractum, divulgato in mundo et approbato in coelo celebri ejus martyrio, abbatiam de Aberbroutok in honore ipsius fundavit, et redditibus ampliavit.*" (*Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 11.) King Malcolm IV. had likewise corresponded with the archbishop, and interceded with Henry on his behalf. See letter from John of Salisbury to Becket—*Froude's Remains*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 108.

³ "*Vir tantus et tam laudabilis in multis totam gloriam suam ab ineunte ætate urque ad senium, proh dolor! unica macula decoloravit. Per totam enim terræ suæ totius amplitudinem, in cathedralibus ecclesiis cunctis, nullas omnino nisi ad nutum ipsius, more tyrannico, fieri permisit electiones; enormes quidem Normanniæ tyrannidis per Angliam abusiones nimis in hoc expresse sequens.*" *Giraldus Cambrensis*, as quoted in the Preface to the *Chartulary of Arbroath*, p. xi.

archdeacon of the diocese, John the Scot, was chosen as his successor by the chapter. John was sister's son to Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen, and was born in Cheshire, but was probably of Scottish descent. He had been educated at Oxford and Paris, and had attained a high reputation both for learning and piety. The king, however, had not been consulted as to the election, and he received the announcement of it with great indignation. He swore by the arm of St. James that so long as he lived John should never be Bishop of St. Andrews. He named his own chaplain, Hugh, to the see, and caused him to be consecrated by the Scottish prelates. At the same time he confiscated the goods of John, and banished him from the kingdom. John appealed to the Pope, and went to Rome in person to assert his rights. Alexander sent him back to Scotland along with his legate Alexis. The legate, after due enquiry, annulled the appointment of Hugh, and confirmed the election of John, who was consecrated at Holyrood, by Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen, on Trinity Sunday, 1180. Immediately afterwards, John was again obliged to leave the country and repair to Rome, and the Bishop of Aberdeen and others of his friends were also driven into exile. The Pope enjoined William to restore John to his see, and, when this command was disregarded, entrusted Roger, Archbishop of York, with legatine powers over Scotland, and with authority to excommunicate the king, and lay the kingdom under an interdict. William still persisted in his opposition; and, though John himself was desirous to avert extreme measures, interdict and excommunication were finally pronounced in the year 1181.

Very soon afterwards, Pope Alexander died, and King William immediately sent Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, the Abbots of Melrose and Kelso, and the Prior of Inchcolm, to his successor, Lucius III., in order to obtain an alteration of the sentence. The Pope complied with his request, and removed both the excommunication and the interdict. He also sent the golden rose with his blessing to the King of the Scots. Lucius empowered Roland, Bishop-elect of Dol, and Silvanus, formerly Abbot of Dundrennan, now Ailred's successor at Rievaulx, to proceed to Scotland, and adjust the differences regarding the see of St. Andrews. They proposed

that John should resign the see, and accept that of Dunkeld, which was then vacant, with the office of chancellor of the kingdom, and other emoluments. John was willing to agree to this under certain conditions, but, as it was still found impracticable to settle the whole controversy, he and his rival Hugh went to Italy, and met the Pope at Velletri. There they both consented to resign the see of St. Andrews into the hands of the Pontiff, who soon afterwards restored it to Hugh, and confirmed John in the bishopric of Dunkeld. This arrangement took place in the year 1183.

Differences again arose respecting certain rights claimed by John, which the king refused to concede. The original controversy was thus opened up, and John and Hugh repaired to Italy to submit their differences to Urban III., the successor of Lucius. Urban wrote to the king, and granted a commission to Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, and the Abbots of Melrose, Newbottle, and Dunfermline, to enquire into the whole matter, and to summon the contending bishops again to Rome. The citation was given, and John obeyed the call; but Hugh refused to leave Scotland, and was, in consequence, first suspended, and afterwards excommunicated, for contumacy. The dispute continued to be carried on during the short pontificates of Urban, and of Gregory VIII. In the beginning of the year 1188, John returned from Rome, with letters from Clement III. That Pope wrote to Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen, the Abbot of Melrose, and the Prior of Coldingham, intimating the absolute removal of Hugh from the bishopric of St. Andrews, and his suspension from the episcopal office for such time as to the apostolic see might seem proper, and requesting them, on the part of the Pope, to advise the chapter of St. Andrews to elect John as their bishop. Letters of similar purport were sent to the King of the Scots, to Henry of England, as William's feudal superior, and to the clergy of St. Andrews. A fifth letter was addressed to the Bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Murray, and to the Abbots of Melrose, Newbottle, Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, and Scone, granting authority to lay Scotland under an interdict, if the king should refuse to submit. William was prevailed on by his people to agree to a compromise. He consented that John

should hold the see of Dunkeld, together with the whole revenues which he enjoyed before his consecration, on condition that he should resign all claim to St. Andrews. The bishop acquiesced, being persuaded, says the English chronicler who records the controversy, that "better is a dry morsel and quietness therewith, than a house full of sacrifice, with strife."¹

Soon after the settlement of this dispute, William obtained from Pope Clement a declaration regarding the ecclesiastical immunities of his kingdom. It set forth that the Church of Scotland, as the especial daughter of Rome, should be immediately subject to the apostolic see; that no one, save the Pope or his legate a latere, should pronounce any sentence of interdict or excommunication against the Scottish kingdom; that no one should hold courts within the kingdom save a subject of the Scottish king, or a person specially appointed by the apostolic see; and that no disputes should be brought before a judge out of the kingdom, except in the case of an appeal to Rome. The papal letter names all the Scottish sees, nine in number, viz. St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Caithness.² This declaration was of great importance in connection with the claims of York and Canterbury. It recognised the independence of all the bishoprics, except Galloway, the subjection of which to York was now, as heretofore, taken for granted.

Bishop Hugh repaired to Rome, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, but died a few days afterwards of the pestilence. His decease took place on the fourth of August, 1188.³ On the thirteenth of April, 1189, King William's kinsman and chancellor, Roger, second son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, was chosen Bishop of St. Andrews. The Bishop of Dunkeld was present on this occasion, and made no objec-

¹ For the history of the contest respecting the succession to the see of St. Andrews, we are chiefly indebted to Hoveden, pp. 597-599, 613-618, 621, 632, 633, 646-649; and to the *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 35-40. See also *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 88, 90-92; Winton, vol. i. p. 331-334; Lyttleton, vol. iii. pp. 360-363, 488-490; and Hailes, vol. i. p. 134-140, and vol. iii. pp. 204, 205.

² Hoveden, pp. 651, 652. Hailes, vol. i. pp. 144, 145; vol. iii. p. 205.

³ Hoveden, p. 649. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 97. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 41.

tion. For some reason, which is not explained, Roger remained bishop-elect for nine years. He was consecrated at St. Andrews by Richard, Bishop of Murray, on the first Sunday in Lent, 1198.¹ In December, 1201, a council of the Scottish Church was held at Perth, by the Cardinal-legate, John of Salerno, at which various canons were enacted.² Bishop Roger died at Cambuskenneth on the seventh of July, 1202, and William Malvoisin was translated from Glasgow to St. Andrews in the course of the same year.³

A national council is said to have been held at Perth, on the eleventh of April, 1206. The only evidence of this is a decree of the synod, containing its judgment in a controversy relating to certain lands at Arbuthnot, between the baron of that name and the Bishop of St. Andrews. It would appear, however, that this was a synod of the clergy within the archdeaconry of St. Andrews, and not a provincial council of the Scottish Church.⁴

In the year 1208, Pope Innocent III. granted a confirmation of the liberties and immunities of the Church of Scotland, in terms similar to those in the bull of Pope Clement. These privileges had also been recognised by his immediate predecessor, Celestine III.⁵

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 97, 103. *Hoveden*, p. 649. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 42.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 104. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 1. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 80. See also Hailes, vol. iii. p. 205-208. Fordun mentions (*Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 62) that this council sat for three days, and that it prohibited all priests who had been ordained on Sunday from ministering at the altar: "In quo concilio amoti sunt ab officio altaris qui die dominico ordinem sacerdotalem susceperunt."

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 104. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 42.

⁴ See the decree of the synod in the fifth volume of the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, p. 209-213. See also the preface to the same volume, p. 21-23, and appendix to the preface, p. 62-66; Advertisement to *Pinkerton's Enquiry*, p. xiv.-xix.; and *Innes's Critical Essay*, p. 589. Innes is mistaken in supposing that the original writ calls this meeting "synodus generalis." The address by the persons present shews what it really was—"Patricius de Dunfermelyn, et Henricus de Aberbroth, Reimbaldus de Scone, et Guido de Lindores, abbates, et Thomas de Sancto Andrea, et Johannes de May, et Berengarius de Restineth, priores, et Ranulfus archidiaconus de Sancto Andrea, et decani et clerici qui interfuerunt synodo apud Perth." These are evidently the abbots, priors, archdeacons, rural deans, and clergy, of the archdeaconry of St. Andrews.

⁵ See *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* pp. 77, 78; *Hoveden*, p. 714; *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. cc. 67, 68.

In 1211, Bishop William, with the king's leave, sailed to France to visit his relations, and, on his return, he and Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, in virtue of their joint legatine authority, held a council at Perth. Their object was to induce the Scots to join in a crusade. Many of the clergy and monastic orders took the cross, but few of the nobles could be prevailed on to do so.¹

In the year 1186, King William had married Ermengarde, daughter of a French noble, the Viscount of Beaumont. On the accession of Richard I. to the English crown, William obtained a full surrender of the supremacy which Henry had extorted during his captivity. This act of Richard, which English historians have censured so much, was both prudent and just. "It must," says Hailes, "in a great measure be ascribed to the generous policy of Richard, that for more than a century after the memorable year 1189, there was no national quarrel, nor national war, between the two kingdoms. A blessed period."²

King William died at Stirling, on the fourth of December, 1214, and was buried at Arbroath. His private life before his marriage was very irregular, and his ecclesiastical policy was sometimes harsh and overbearing. In other respects he is justly reckoned among the best of our sovereigns.

William is said to have introduced the Trinity Friars into Scotland, and to have given them his own residence at Aberdeen for a monastery.³

The Benedictine abbey of St. Mary at Lindores was founded by the king's brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon and the Garioch. The common account is that the abbey was erected by Earl David about the year 1178, on his return from the Holy Land. If, as is generally said, he accompanied King Richard to the crusade, this date is manifestly erroneous. In any event it is unlikely that the erection was so early. His charter was granted in the beginning of the thirteenth century, but a bull of Pope Innocent III., in favour of the monastery, is dated in 1198, and the foundation pro-

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 78. Hailes, vol. iii. pp. 208, 209.

² *Annals*, vol. i. p. 148.

³ *Spottiswood's Religious Houses*, pp. 395, 396. *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 66.

bably took place a short time before that year. The monks are said to have been brought from Kelso.¹

The Cistercian abbey of Glenluce is said to have been founded in 1190, by Roland, son of Uchtred, Lord of Gallo-way, and to have been supplied with monks from Melrose.²

The Augustinian monastery of Canons-Regular at Inchaffray, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was founded by Gilbert, Earl of Stratherne, before 1198. Additional endowments were conferred upon it by the earl and his wife Matilda, in the year 1200, when the foundation charter of the abbey was granted. The canons were brought from Scone.³

During the reigns of Malcolm and William, we again meet with notices of the abbey of Iona. The Annals of Ulster contain the following passage under the year 1164: "The chiefs of the family of Ia—viz., Augustin, the great priest, and Dubhside, the lector, and MacGilladuff, president of the Desert, and MacForcellaigh, head of the Culdees, and the chiefs of the family of Ia in general, came to meet the Coarb of Columelle, namely, Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain [to invite him] to accept of the abbacy of Ia, by the advice of Somhairle and the men of Argyle, and of Innse Gall; but the Coarb of Patrick, the King of Ireland, namely, Ua Lochlainn, and the chiefs of the Cinel-Eoghain, prevented it." From this it appears that the monks of Iona, and Somerled, Lord of Argyll, offered the abbacy to Flaithbertach O'Brolchain, Abbot of Derry, and head of the Columbite order, but that the proposal was stopped by the intervention of Gelasius, Abbot of Armagh, and Muirceartach, King of Ireland.

In the course of the same year, Somerled rebelled against King Malcolm, and was defeated and slain; and a few years afterwards we find that King William granted to the abbey

¹ See Earl David's charter and the bull of Pope Innocent, in the Chartulary of Lindores, p. 37-41, and in the Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 246-249. See also the Introduction to the Chartulary of Lindores, p. i.-iii; Spottiswood's Religious Houses, p. 411; and Hailes, vol. i. pp. 148, 149.

² See Spottiswood's Religious Houses, p. 421; and Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 421. The Chronicle of Melrose informs us (p. 115) that in 1214, William, cellarer of Melrose, was chosen abbot of Glenluce.

³ Foundation charter—Registrum de Inchaffray, p. 3-5, and preface, pp. vii. viii. Scotichronicon, lib. viii. c. 73.

of Holyrood the churches in Galloway which belonged to Iona. The monks had perhaps abetted the proceedings of Somerled, and lost, in consequence, the possessions which they held within the Scottish kingdom.¹

Another passage regarding Iona is to be found in the Irish annalists under the year 1203: "A monastery was erected by Cellach, and without any legal right, and in despite of the family of Hy, in the middle of Cro-Hy, and he did considerable damage to the town. The clergy of the North assembled together to pass over into Hy—namely, Florence O'Carolan, Bishop of Tyrone; Maelisa O'Deery, Bishop of Tirconnell, and abbot of the abbey church of Paul and Peter at Armagh; Awley O'Ferghail, abbot of the abbey church of Derry, with Ainnire O'Coffey, many of the family of Derry, and a great number of the northern clergy beside. They passed over into Hy, and, in accordance with the law of the Church, they subsequently pulled down the monastery: and the aforesaid Awley was elected abbot of Hy, by the suffrages of foreigners and Gaeidhel." It does not precisely appear who Cellach was. He claimed some sort of jurisdiction in Iona, but was successfully resisted by the Irish clergy, who obtained the appointment of one of their own number as abbot.²

This last passage, says Dr. Reeves, "is the parting mention of Hy in the Irish annals, and as it closes a long list of notices, running through nearly seven centuries, it leaves the island as it found it, in the hands of Irish ecclesiastics, an important outpost of the Irish Church, a centre of union between provinces whose people were of one blood, and who were enrolled under one name in the list of nations, till the accident of time limited to one the common name of both, and the accident of place created separate, and sometimes rival interests."³

A Cluniac abbey is said to have been afterwards established at Iona, and the new foundation is sometimes ascribed to King William the Lion. There does not appear to be sufficient evidence for these statements, though Iona, in later deeds, is

¹ See Reeves' Adamnan, additional notes, pp. 407, 408; Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 19; Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. appendix to preface, pp. 73, 74; Monumenta Ecclesiæ S. Crucis, p. 41.

² See Reeves' Adamnan, additional notes, p. 412; Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 135-137; Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 347.

³ Reeves' Adamnan, *ibid.* p. 413.

spoken of as belonging to the Cluniac order. William transferred the possessions of Iona in Galloway to the canons of Holyrood, but the island itself was not then, properly speaking, a part of the Scottish kingdom. It is more probable that Iona, like several Irish monasteries, continued to retain its old constitution, modified in some respects by the Benedictine rule.

The episcopal succession of the Scottish dioceses during the reigns of Malcolm IV. and William may now be traced.

Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, drew up a constitution for his cathedral chapter on the model of that of Salisbury.¹ He died in 1164, and Ingelram, the archdeacon, was chosen his successor, and consecrated at Sens by Pope Alexander III., on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, in the same year. Ingelram died on the second of February, 1174.²

The next bishop was Joceline, Abbot of Melrose. He was elected on the twenty-third of May, 1174, and early in the following year was consecrated at Clairvaux by the Archbishop of Lund, Primate of Denmark, and papal legate.³ Joceline distinguished his episcopal rule, among other good works, by rebuilding the cathedral of St. Kentigern. The dedication of the magnificent crypt, which still remains, took place on Sunday the sixth of July, 1197. In 1198, Joceline baptized Alexander, son of King William and Ermengarde. He died at his old monastic residence of Melrose, on the seventeenth of March, 1199.⁴

Hugh de Roxburgh, the king's chancellor, was elected in room of Joceline, but died, before consecration, on the tenth of July, 1199.⁵ William Malvoisin succeeded Hugh, both

¹ *Præterea rationabiles consuetudines et libertates, quas bonæ memoriæ Herbertus, quondam episcopus vester, secundum morem Sarisberiensis ecclesiæ, in ecclesia vestra induxit et scripto proprio confirmavit, vobis, auctoritate apostolica, confirmamus.*" Bull of Alexander III.—*Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 26. See also treatise by Thomas Innes—*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. p. 365.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 79, 86. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 19. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 15.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 86, 87. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* pp. 33, 34. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 24.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 91, 103. *Hoveden*, pp. 781, 792.

⁵ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 104. *Hoveden*, p. 796. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 60.

as chancellor and as Bishop of Glasgow. He was elected in October, 1199, and consecrated in France in 1200.¹ On the translation of William to St. Andrews, Florence, son of Florence Count of Holland and Ada sister of King William, was chosen bishop. He remained bishop-elect for five years, and resigned the see, with the Pope's permission, in 1207. Walter, the king's chaplain, was the next bishop. He was elected on the ninth of December, 1207, and consecrated at Glasgow, on the second of November, 1208.²

Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld, died in 1169, and was succeeded by Richard, the king's chaplain, who was consecrated in the cathedral church of St. Andrews by Richard, Bishop of that see, on the eve of St. Laurence, 1170.³ Richard's decease took place in 1178. Walter de Bidun, the king's chancellor, was next chosen bishop, but died the same year, before consecration. His successor was John the Scot, whose contest with his sovereign and final acceptance of the see of Dunkeld have already been related.⁴

After the arrangement of the dispute regarding the see of St. Andrews, John the Scot continued to govern the diocese of Dunkeld. That bishopric comprehended a large territory, in the western part of which the Gaelic language alone was spoken. John was ignorant of the Celtic tongue, and, conscious of his inability to do his duty to the whole flock committed to him, requested the Pope to disjoin the western portion of his bishopric from the Church of Dunkeld, and to erect it into a separate diocese under the name of Argyll; mentioning at the same time that the revenues were quite sufficient for the support of two bishops. John sent his letter to Rome by his chaplain Harold, who was well-skilled both in the English and in the Gaelic tongue, and whom he recommended as otherwise fit for the episcopal office. The Pope complied with his request, expressing his admiration of self-denial so unusual; and having consecrated Harold, sent him back to Scotland.⁵ The see of Argyll is generally said

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 104. *Hoveden*, p. 796. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 61.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 105, 106-108.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 81, 82. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 13.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 88, 89. *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. c. 25.

⁵ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. cc. 40, 41.

to have been founded in the year 1200, but the precise date cannot be ascertained.

The diocese of Argyll comprehended the mainland portion of the modern county of that name, the district of Lochaber, and the island of Lismore, where the cathedral was erected. It was divided into four rural deaneries—Cantyre, Glassary, Lorn, and Morvern; and this division appears to have been made soon after the establishment of the diocese. From the middle of the thirteenth century, a chapter of secular canons existed at Lismore. A Dean presided, and under him were the usual dignitaries, the Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor, and Treasurer.¹

John the Scot assumed the Cistercian habit a short time before his decease. He died at Newbottle, in 1203, and was buried within the choir of the conventual church there, on the north side of the altar. An account of his life was written by William Binning, Prior of Newbottle, and afterwards Abbot of Cupar.²

The next bishop of Dunkeld was Richard de Prebenda, styled in the Melrose Chronicle the king's clerk and kinsman. He died in May, 1210. His successor was John, Archdeacon of Lothian, who was elected on the twenty-second of July, 1211, and died on the seventh of October, 1214.³

Hugh de Sigillo was chosen bishop on the decease of John. He was a prelate of great meekness, and was known by the name of the poor man's bishop.⁴

William, Bishop of Murray, who had held the office of

¹ See *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 7, 42, 43, 91, 161, 162, 188, and authorities there referred to. For some time at least during the fourteenth century, the capitular functions were discharged by the whole clergy of the diocese. In a procuratory granted by the Scottish bishops, relative to the ransom of David II., "the Bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, affix their episcopal and chapter seals. The Bishop of Argyll affixes only his episcopal seal, with this note: 'non habet commune sigillum, quia totus clerus eligit.'" (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 18.)

² *Scotichronicou*, lib. vi. c. 41. William Binning, Prior of Newbottle, became Abbot of Cupar in 1243. (*Chronica de Mailros*, p. 150.) The Life of Bishop John is now lost, but the substance is probably incorporated in the narrative of the *Scotichronicou*.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 105, 109, 110, 115.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 115. *Scotichronicou*, lib. ix. c. 47.

papal legate, died on the twenty-fourth of January, 1162. The next bishop appears to have been Felix, of whom nothing farther is known.¹

In the year 1171, Simon de Tonei, a monk of Melrose, and sometime Abbot of Coggeshall, was elected Bishop of Murray, and consecrated at St. Andrews on the twenty-third of January, 1172. He died on the seventeenth of September, 1184. Richard, one of the king's clerks, was the next bishop. He was elected on the first of March, 1187, and consecrated at St. Andrews by Bishop Hugh, on the fifteenth of the same month.² He died in 1203, and was succeeded by Bricius, Prior of Lismahago.³ Bricius was a son of the house of Douglas, at that time an obscure family in Clydesdale, and first raised to eminence by their connection with the bishop. Hitherto there had been no proper cathedral in Murray; Birnie, Spynie, and Kinnedor, being all occasionally the bishop's residence. Bricius, with the approbation of Pope Innocent III., fixed his see at the church of the Holy Trinity at Spynie, and appointed a chapter of eight canons, including a Dean, Precentor, Treasurer, Chancellor, and Archdeacon, to each of whom a prebend was given, with privileges and immunities similar to those enjoyed by the canons of Lincoln. In order to ascertain correctly the usages of that Church, the Dean and Chancellor of Murray went to Lincoln, and received full information, orally and in writing, from the cathedral chapter.⁴ Bricius died in 1222.⁵

Pope Adrian IV., in 1157, granted a bull in favour of Bishop Edward and the Church of Aberdeen, confirming its privileges and property, and conferring on the bishop the power of appointing monks or canons as a chapter for his

¹ *Chronicon S. Crucis*—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 162. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 78. Felix, Bishop of Murray, is witness to a charter by King William; and his episcopate must have been in the interval between 1162, when Bishop William died, and 1171, when Bishop Simon was elected. See Dalrymple's *Collections*, preface, p. lvi., and Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 135.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 84, 85, 93, 95. *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 359.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 105.

⁴ *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 40-48.

⁵ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 138.

cathedral church.¹ It would seem that the bishop availed himself of this right, and that the secular canons who formed the chapter of Aberdeen were first appointed by him. Bishop Edward died in 1171. The next bishop was Matthew, Archdeacon of St. Andrews. He was elected in the beginning of 1172, and consecrated on the second of April in that year.²

Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen, died on the twentieth of August, 1199. The next bishop was John, said to have been Prior of Kelso, whose decease took place in 1207, and who was succeeded by Adam, one of the king's clerks.³

The precise date of the decease of Simeon, Bishop of Ross, cannot be ascertained. In 1161, Gregory was consecrated to that see by Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews and papal legate.⁴

On the death of Gregory, Bishop of Ross, in 1195, Reginald, a monk of Melrose, was elected on the twenty-seventh of February, and consecrated on the tenth of September, in the same year. Reginald died on the thirteenth of December, 1213. Andrew de Moravia, afterwards Bishop of Murray, was chosen to succeed him, but declined at that time to be raised to the episcopate, and Robert, the king's chaplain, was chosen.⁵

Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, must have been consecrated when young, and have lived to extreme old age; or two bishops of that name must have succeeded each other in the diocese. It was formerly mentioned that Andrew, first bishop of Caithness, was appointed to his see before the death of Queen Matilda about 1130; and the Chronicle of Melrose informs us that Andrew, of pious memory, Bishop of Caithness, died at Dunfermline on the thirtieth of January, 1184.⁶ He was succeeded by Bishop John.

¹ "Præterea monachos sive canonicos in tua cathedrali ecclesia, juxta dispositionem tuam, instituendi, liberam auctoritate sedis apostolicæ habeas facultatem." *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. i. p. 6.

² *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. p. 247, and preface, p. xix. *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 84, 85.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 104, 106. Boece, *Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ*, ed. 1825, p. 7.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 78.

⁵ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 102, 113, 114.

⁶ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 93. See also Keith's Catalogue, pp. 205, 206.

John, Bishop of Caithness, was barbarously mutilated by Harold, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and died, as is supposed, in consequence of the wounds inflicted upon him, about the end of the twelfth century.¹

No bishop appears to have been appointed for some years, on account probably of the troubled state of the diocese, but, on the fifth of August, 1213, Adam, Abbot of Melrose, was elected to the see, and consecrated by William, Bishop of St. Andrews, on the eleventh of May, 1214.²

Turpin succeeded Samson as Bishop of Brechin, probably in 1178, and was consecrated before 1180, or in the course of that year.³ The next bishop was Ralph, who was consecrated in 1202. Ralph died probably before 1214, since we find his successor Hugh styled Bishop of Brechin while Robert was still elect of Ross. Hugh died in 1218, and was succeeded by Gregory, Archdeacon of the diocese.⁴

Laurence was still Bishop of Dunblane in the end of the reign of Malcolm. His successor, Simon, became bishop, probably about the beginning of William's reign.⁵ In the last year of the twelfth century, Simon was succeeded by Jonathan, Archdeacon of the diocese.⁶ During the episcopate of Jonathan, Gilbert, Earl of Stratherne, is said to have divided his whole earldom into three equal portions, and to have conferred the first on his new foundation of Inchaffray, and the second on the see of Dunblane, while he retained the third to his own use.⁷ This is probably an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that Gilbert was munificent in his gifts to

¹ See Records of the Bishopric of Caithness, p. 6-9, and the Orkneyinga Saga, and letter of Pope Innocent III. there referred to; see also *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, pp. 352, 353.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 114.

³ Compare *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*, p. 147, and *Regist. Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 9, 62. See also Keith's Catalogue, pp. 156, 157.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 104, 134. *Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen.* vol. ii. pp. 387, 388. *Regist. Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 74, 129.

⁵ Compare *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*, pp. 133, 147; *Regist. de Dunfermline*, p. 85; *Regist. Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, p. 16; *Cartæ de North Berwick*, p. 6. See also Keith's Catalogue, p. 171.

⁶ Compare *Regist. Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 145, 146.

⁷ "Divisit comitatum suum in tres æquales portiones, unam ecclesiæ et episcopo Dunblanensi, aliam Sancto Johanni Evangelistæ et canonicis de Insula Mesarum, tertiam vero sibi et suis usibus et hæredibus suis reservavit." *Scoti-chronicon*, lib. viii. c. 73.

the bishopric, since we find that the Palatines of Stratherne were spoken of as its founders, and recognised in law as its patrons.¹ Bishop Jonathan died in the year 1210, and was buried at Inchaffray.²

Gilla Aldan, first bishop of the restored line of Candida Casa, was succeeded by Christian, who was consecrated at Bermondsey, by the Archbishop of Rouen, on the nineteenth of December, 1154. When Christian was summoned to attend the synod of Scottish bishops held at Edinburgh by the legate Vivian, in 1177, he declined to appear, stating that he was a suffragan of York; and he was in consequence suspended by the legate. He died at Holmcultram, on the seventh of October, 1186.³

John, the successor of Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa, was consecrated at the abbey of Pipewell, by John, Archbishop of Dublin, on Sunday the seventeenth of September, 1189. In the following year, Bishop John conferred the order of the priesthood on Geoffrey Plantagenet, his own metropolitan-elect. He became a canon of Holyrood in 1206, and died in 1209. His successor was Walter, chamberlain to Alan, son of Roland, Lord of Galloway.⁴

Christian, Bishop of Man, was succeeded by Michael, a monk, and born in the Isle, who died at Fountains Abbey, at an advanced age, in 1203. Nicholas, a native of Argyll, was appointed his successor, and was presented by Olave, son of Godred, King of the Isles, to the dean and chapter of York, for consecration by the archbishop of that see. Olave seems

¹ "Sane concepimus qualiter progenitorum nostrorum, regum Scotiæ et comitum de Stratherne, ac aliorum procerum et fidelium regni nostri prædicti digna recolenda prioritas, propter Divini cultus augmentum, construxit ecclesiam Dunblanensem, et ipsam diversis dotavit possessionibus, et privilegiis communivit, statuentes et confirmantes Comitem de Stratherne dominum superiorem episcopi et capituli ejusdem, ac diversas terras de ipso in capite tenere immediate decreverunt." Act of James II.—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 58. See Riddell's Remarks upon Scottish Peerage Law, pp. 57, 58, and Preface to the Chartulary of Inchaffray, pp. iv. v. The diocese of Dunblane was sometimes called the diocese of Stratherne.

² Scotchchronicon, lib. viii. c. 73.

³ Chronicon S. Crucis—Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 161. Hoveden, p. 567. Bromton—Decem Scriptores, p. 1111. Chronica de Mailros, p. 95.

Hoveden, p. 659. Scotchchronicon, lib. viii. cc. 46, 66, 68. Chronica de Mailros, p. 108. Giraldus Cambrensis, de Vita Galfridi Archiep. Ebor.—Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 383. Wendover, vol. iii. p. 20.

to have anticipated some obstacle to the granting of his request, and we are not informed by whom the bishop-elect was consecrated. Nicholas died in 1217, and was buried at Bangor, in Ulster.¹

William, the first proper bishop of Orkney, who died in 1168, was succeeded by another William, whose decease took place in 1188. William's successor, Biarn, is said to have died on the fifteenth of September, 1223, and the next bishop was Jofreir.²

¹ Chronicon Manniæ, pp. 25, 44. See Olave's letter to the dean and chapter of York, in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1186. It is there called "*Litera Regis Insularum directa Capitulo Eborum pro electo suo Candido Casce.*" The name of the see thus given is evidently a mistake. It is not mentioned in the body of the writ. John was at this time Bishop of Galloway, and the King of the Isles had no authority within that province. Dr. Reeves conjectures (*Adamnan*, additional notes, p. 412) that Nicholas may have been the Cellach, who, in 1203, attempted to establish a monastery in Hy.

² Torfæus, p. 161. Keith's Catalogue, p. 220.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM THE LION IN 1214, TO THE DEATH
OF KING ALEXANDER II. IN 1249.

Accession of Alexander II.—Letter of Pope Honorius III. to the Scottish Bishops—Establishment of Annual Councils of the Scottish Church under Conservators—Death of Alexander II.—Opposition to the Papal Legates during the reign of Alexander—Monastic foundations of the reign of Alexander—Introduction of the Dominican and Franciscan Friars into Scotland—David de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews—Succession of Bishops—St. Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness—Clement, Bishop of Dunblane.

ALEXANDER, the only son of William and Ermengarde, was seventeen years of age at his father's death. He supported the cause of the English barons who rose against King John. In consequence of this the papal legate Gualo excommunicated Alexander himself and his whole kingdom, but a year elapsed before the sentence was published in Scotland. When Lewis of France made peace with the Pope, Alexander also submitted, and was released from ecclesiastical censure. In 1221, the King of the Scots was married to Joan, sister of the young English sovereign, Henry III.

In the year 1215, William, Bishop of St. Andrews, Walter Bishop of Glasgow, Bricius, Bishop of Murray, and Henry, Abbot of Kelso, attended the Lateran Council in person, and the other Scottish prelates were present by their deputies. The Bishop of St. Andrews remained abroad till the beginning of 1218.¹

In 1221, a general council of all the Scottish prelates was held at Perth by James, canon of St. Victor at Paris, penitentiary of the apostolic see, and legate for Scotland and Ireland. The synod sat for four days, commencing with the ninth of February.²

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 121, 132.

² *Ibid.* p. 138.

In 1218, Pope Honorius III. confirmed the immunities of the Scottish Church in terms precisely similar to those which had been used by his predecessors Clement, Celestine, and Innocent.¹ Seven years afterwards, a bull was granted by the same pope, conferring on the Scottish Church new and peculiar privileges. As Scotland had no metropolitan, provincial councils could formally be called only by a legate. This was frequently attended with great inconvenience, and was felt as a national grievance. In a letter to the Scottish bishops, dated 19th May, 1225, Honorius stated that complaints had been made by some of their number that the canons of the general council were neglected, and that many offences were committed, in consequence of their having no archbishop by whose authority a provincial council could be held. But, the letter set forth, in as much as such councils ought not to be omitted, wherein faults might be corrected, morals amended, and canons promulgated, especially those enacted at the general council aforesaid, therefore the Scottish bishops were enjoined, since they had no metropolitan, to hold a synod in virtue of the Pope's authority.²

The council referred to was the Lateran Council of 1215, and it was evidently intended, by means of the letter, to provide for the convocation of a synod to promulgate and enforce the decrees of that council; but the Scottish bishops made use of the authority thus given to establish a system under which provincial councils were regularly held without the intervention of a legate, and without any farther mandate from the see of Rome. They appear to have met soon after the letter of Honorius was received, and to have established rules in regard to the convocation of synods, and the forms of their proceedings. Referring to the practice of the Church in regard to the annual assembling of synods, and quoting the letter of Honorius as the authority for this in Scotland, they decreed that the bishops, abbots, and priors presiding over distinct priories, should meet in council each year, on a day to be fixed by the Conservator; the session, if necessary, to continue for three days. Each member was to attend, unless prevented

¹ *Foedera*, vol. i. part i. pp. 152, 153.

² See the letter of Honorius in the *Chartulary of Murray*, p. 332, in the *Chartulary of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 3, and in *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. i. p. 607.

by some canonical impediment; and in that case he was to grant commission to a procurator to appear for him. The Conservator of the council was to be chosen by and from the bishops, and was to act from the date of his appointment till the meeting of next synod. He was empowered to punish all transgressors of the canons, and to enforce obedience by ecclesiastical censures. At the commencement of each council a bishop was to preach, beginning with the Bishop of St. Andrews. The synod was to meet in virtue of the Conservator's writ. He issued a mandate to each bishop, mentioning the day and place of meeting, and requiring him to attend then and there, with the prelates of his diocese. In after times the bishops were enjoined to bring with them also the proctors of the capitular, collegiate, and conventual bodies.¹

The establishment of this system of councils and conservators led to considerable change in the government of the Scottish Church, especially in relation to the position occupied by the Bishops of St. Andrews. While these prelates still retained precedence in some respects, as first in dignity, they were bound, as much as the other bishops, to obey the mandates of the Conservator for the time. From the date of the letter of Honorius to the erection of St. Andrews into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see in the fifteenth century, the Scottish Church was subject, under the Pope, to its own national synods, and to their temporary presidents.²

Notwithstanding the repeated papal bulls which confirmed the independence of the Scottish Church, and the surrender by King Richard of all claims founded on the treaty of Falaise, the pretensions of the English sovereigns and archbishops were, in some shape or other, constantly renewed. Alexander

¹ *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. p. 5. *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. i. p. 608. *Hailes*, vol. iii. p. 147-149. See the citation, apparently according to the form used in the fourteenth century, in the *Chartulary of Murray*, p. 375.

² On the subject of the letter of Honorius, and the changes introduced in consequence, see *Innes's Critical Essay*, p. 590-592, and his letter prefixed to the first volume of *Wilkins's Concilia*, pp. xxix xxx.; and *Hailes*, vol. iii. pp. 145-149, 210, 211. *Innes* appears to be mistaken in supposing that the conservators possessed metropolitanical powers. The single authority which he quotes in proof of this—an act of the estates of the kingdom in the parliament held at Scone, on 21st February, 1401—does not bear out the meaning he puts on it, and was besides only a temporary provision. See letter prefixed to *Wilkins's Concilia*, p. xxx., and *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 214.

on his accession had been crowned at Scone, with more than usual pomp and solemnity,¹ but it would appear that some years afterwards he wished to be crowned anew by the legate James. The reason is not mentioned. Perhaps he thought that he would thus more effectually guard against the pretensions of England; or he may have desired to be consecrated by unction, a rite which had not yet been used at the coronation of Scottish kings. However this may have been, Alexander did not succeed in his design. The legate consulted Honorius on the subject, and the Pope, in answer, forbade him to comply with the request of the Scottish sovereign, unless with the permission of King Henry, and the advice of the English bishops. Alexander probably still contemplated a second coronation, for, in the year 1233, Walter, Archbishop of York, received the sanction of King Henry to an appeal which he proposed to enter against it, in vindication of the rights of his sovereign, and of the Church of York. We are not told what farther proceedings took place in connection with this matter.²

Queen Joan died in 1238, and in the following year Alexander was married to Mary, daughter of Ingelram, Lord of Couci. The King of the Scots claimed the allegiance of Angus of Argyll, but that chief refused to renounce his fealty to the King of Norway. In consequence of this, Alexander twice invaded his territory, and on the latter of these occasions died in the island of Kerrera, on the eighth of July, 1249. His body, in terms of the directions which he had given, was carried to Melrose, and there interred. The character of Alexander was in every respect such as became the descendant of Margaret and David. His abilities and his virtues enabled him to preserve the independence, and increase the strength and prosperity of his kingdom.

The records of the proceedings at the provincial councils of the Scottish clergy have for the most part been lost, and only a few notices of their meetings remain, but these sufficiently indicate that the system established in virtue of the letter of Honorius—the calling of synods and the election of con-

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 114. *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. c. 1.

² See letter of Honorius in the notes to the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 379, and the ratification of the archbishop's appeal in the *Feadera*, vol. i. part i. p. 209.

servators—was regularly kept up. The meaning given to the letter went beyond the intentions of Rome, but the kings of Scotland were strong in the support of their subjects, both clergy and laity, and firmly maintained the privilege which they had acquired.

One object of the annual convocation of the Scottish clergy was to prevent the burdensome visits of a legate. Alexander was determined to prohibit the admission of foreign ecclesiastics into his kingdom, and his resolution was soon put to the test. In September, 1237, he met his brother-in-law, King Henry, at York, and certain differences between them were arranged by the mediation of the papal legate in England, the cardinal-deacon Otho. On this occasion the legate intimated his intention of visiting Scotland, in order to enquire into the ecclesiastical affairs of that country, as he had done in regard to those of England. Alexander is said to have addressed him in the following manner: "I do not remember ever to have seen a legate in my territories, nor that it has been necessary for one to be summoned there, thanks to God; and there is not now any need of one, for all goes on well; neither was any legate allowed ingress into that kingdom during the time of my father, or any of my ancestors, and I will not allow it as long as I am able. However, since report pronounces you to be a man of sanctity, I warn you, if you should happen to enter my territories, to proceed cautiously, lest anything untoward happen to you, for ungovernable wild men dwell there, who thirst after human blood, and whom I myself cannot tame, and if they were to attack you, I should be unable to restrain them; it is but lately, as you have perhaps heard, that they wanted to attack me, and drive me from my kingdom."¹ The legate was alarmed and did not seek to enter Scotland.

This narrative cannot be altogether relied on. There can be little doubt that Alexander purposely used alarming language to frighten the legate. But his words are probably exaggerated by Matthew Paris, who was desirous of contrasting the resolute spirit of the Scottish king with the abject submission of the English sovereign. Alexander must have been aware, and the fact was notorious, that during former

¹ Matthew Paris, *Giles's Translation*, vol. i. p. 70.

reigns papal legates had repeatedly visited Scotland; and his character renders it unlikely that he would have been guilty of a deliberate and manifest untruth.¹

About Midsummer, 1238, a provincial council met at Perth.² The Conservator, no doubt, presided, though we do not know which of the bishops acted in that capacity.

In the following year the legate Otho again proposed to enter Scotland. The king met him before he crossed the border, and still attempted to hinder him, but was at last prevailed on by the intercession of several of the Scottish and English nobles to withdraw his opposition, on condition that the visit should not be construed into a precedent. The legate accordingly came to Edinburgh, and held a council there, on the morrow of the feast of St. Luke. He sojourned in the cities of the south, not venturing to cross the Frith of Forth, and returned to England after the feast of All Saints.³

In the year 1242, a provincial council met at Perth, at which the privileges of the Church were confirmed by the king.⁴

In 1245, Pope Innocent IV., for the farther security of the independence of Scotland, enjoined that the papal delegates, appointed to try ecclesiastical causes arising within that kingdom, should hold their sittings either in the Scottish territory, or in the dioceses of Carlisle or Durham, but not in the diocese of York.⁵

In the year 1217, the Cistercian abbey of Culross was founded by Malcolm, Earl of Fife. The monks were brought from Kinloss, and the church was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Serf.⁶

The abbey of the same order at Deer was founded by William, first Earl of Buchan of the family of Cumyn. The foundation was in 1219, or 1220, and Kinloss was also the mother-house of this monastery. The Cistercian abbey

¹ See Hailes, vol. iii. p. 213.

² Registrum de Inchaffray, appendix to preface, p. xxxii.

³ Matthew Paris, vol. i. p. 195. Chronica de Mailros, p. 150. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 48. Hailes, vol. iii. pp. 214, 215.

⁴ Scotichronicon, lib. ix. c. 59. Hailes, vol. iii. p. 215.

⁵ Foedera, vol. i. part i. p. 263. Hailes, vol. i. p. 175.

⁶ Chronica de Mailros, p. 129. Spottiswood's Religious Houses, p. 422.

probably occupied the site of an ancient church founded by St. Drostan, a disciple of St. Columba.¹

In 1229, the Cistercian abbey of Balmerino was founded by King Alexander and his mother Ermengarde. It was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Edward the Confessor, and the monks were brought from Melrose.²

The monks of the order of Vallis Caulium, a reform of the Cistercians, were brought into Scotland in the reign of Alexander. In the year 1230, three monasteries of the order were founded, Pluscardine, in Murray, by the king himself, Beaulieu, in the diocese of Ross, by John Bisset, and Ardchattan, in Lorn, by Duncan Mackoul.³

During this reign also the Premonstratensian abbey of Ferne is said to have been founded by Ferquhard, Earl of Ross. The canons came from Whithorn.⁴

The Cluniac abbey of Crossraguel was founded by Duncan, Earl of Carriek, in the end of Alexander's reign. It was dedicated to St. Mary. The monks were brought from Paisley, and that monastery claimed jurisdiction over it. The claim was resisted by Crossraguel, and its independence was settled by judicial award, a right of visitation being reserved to the parent monastery.⁵

Early in the thirteenth century, a monastery was founded at Dalmulin, on the river Ayr, by Walter, the Steward of Scotland, for canons and nuns of the English order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. Before the close of the reign of Alexander, the possessions of this monastery were made over, with the consent of all interested, to the abbey of Paisley.⁶

¹ See *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 137, 144, and an interesting collection of notices regarding the abbey of Deer in the *Illustrations of the Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. ii p. 409-412. See also Mr. Cosmo Innes's *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 321-325, where a notice is given of an ancient manuscript belonging to the Church of Deer, lately discovered at Cambridge, and formerly referred to.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 141. Foundation charter by King Alexander—*Liber de Balmerino*, pp. 3, 4.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. c. 47. Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 427, 428.

⁴ Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 400. Preface to the *Chartulary of Dryburgh*, p. vi.

⁵ *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 422-425, and preface, p. xviii. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 485, 486.

⁶ *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 21-27, and preface, p. xii. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 489, 490.

A monastery of the Trinity Friars is said to have been founded at Dunbar by Patrick, Earl of March. This nobleman, the head of a family distinguished for its benefactions to the Church, held his extensive earldom for fifty years. In the year 1232, he invited his sons and daughters, his relatives and neighbours, to keep with him the festival of the Nativity. On the fourth day afterwards, he was seized with a severe illness, and sending for his friend and kinsman, the Abbot of Melrose, he received extreme unction and the monastic habit. He then bade farewell to all about him, and died on the thirty-first of December.¹

In the reign of Alexander II., and chiefly by his encouragement, the Dominican Friars were introduced into Scotland. The effect of the establishment of the Mendicant orders—the great religious reform which distinguished the beginning of the thirteenth century—was felt within a few years through the remotest countries of Christendom. A late tradition ascribes the partiality of Alexander for the Dominicans to an interview which he had, while in early youth at Paris, with the founder of the order. There is no evidence that the king was ever out of Britain, and the statement is otherwise improbable; but the royal bounty, which during the reigns of his predecessors had been bestowed chiefly on the Benedictine monks and the Canons-Regular, was now conferred on the Preaching Friars. Alexander founded monasteries for them at Berwick-on-Tweed, Perth, Ayr, Stirling, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Inverness, and Elgin; and his example was soon imitated by his subjects.²

The Franciscan Friars were also brought to Scotland in the reign of Alexander, and monasteries of their order were founded at Berwick and Roxburgh.³ Both the Dominican and the Franciscan Friars in Scotland were for many years subject to the Provincials of these orders in England; the latter

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 143. *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. c. 48. Hailes, vol. i. p. 332.

² See *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 142; *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. c. 47; Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 441-446; Hailes, vol. i. p. 177; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 685; and, in particular, Mr. Joseph Robertson's Preface to the *Charters of the Black Friars of Glasgow*, p. xxxvi.-xxxviii.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 142. Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 447, 448.

obtaining a provincial of their own in 1329, the former only after the middle of the fifteenth century.¹

William Malvoisin, Bishop of St. Andrews, died on the ninth of July, 1238, after having held the see for thirty-six years.² In the early period of his episcopate there was a controversy between him and the Culdees of Monymusk—a monastery situated within the diocese of Aberdeen, but over which the Bishops of St. Andrews claimed certain rights of property and jurisdiction. This Culdee house had existed, at all events, from the reign of David, but was probably of much more remote antiquity. In the time of Bishop William, the Culdees of Monymusk proposed to become Canons-Regular, and claimed also certain privileges, in opposition to the wishes of that prelate. A commission was issued by Pope Innocent III. to the Abbots of Melrose and Dryburgh, and the Archdeacon of Glasgow, with power to inquire into and settle the dispute. By their mediation an amicable arrangement was effected between the parties. It was agreed that the Culdees should thenceforth consist of a prior and twelve brethren. The superior was to be appointed by the convent choosing three of their own number, one of whom was to be named prior by the Bishop of St. Andrews. They were not to add to the number so fixed, nor to adopt the rule of monks or of Canons-Regular without the permission of the bishop. The bishop, on the other hand, was to assist and protect the Culdees.³

On the death of William de Malvoisin, Geoffrey, Bishop of Dunkeld, was postulated to the see, by the prior and canons of St. Andrews, but the choice being disagreeable both to the Pope and to the king, David de Bernham, chamberlain of Scotland, was elected on the third of June, 1239, and consecrated on the twenty-second of January, 1240, by the Bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin.⁴

¹ Preface to the Charters of the Black Friars of Glasgow, p. liii., and authorities there quoted. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1503.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 149. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 42. *Winton*, vol. i. p. 372.

³ *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*, p. 370-372. See the remarks of Lanigan on this subject, vol. iv. p. 309-311.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 149, 150. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 42. *Winton*, vol. i. p. 373.

On the decease of Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1232, William de Bondington, chancellor to the king, was elected his successor, and was consecrated at Glasgow, by Andrew, Bishop of Murray, on Sunday the eleventh of September, 1233.¹

Hugh de Sigillo, Bishop of Dunkeld, died in 1228, and Matthew, chancellor of Scotland, was elected in his place, but died before consecration in 1229. Gilbert, formerly chaplain to Hugh de Sigillo, was the next bishop. On his decease in 1236, Geoffrey, the king's clerk, was chosen bishop, and held the see till his death on the twenty-second of November, 1249.² He was a munificent benefactor of the see, and made a new erection of the chapter, after the model of the Church of Sarum.

Andrew de Moravia succeeded Bricius as Bishop of Murray.³ He asked and obtained the permission of Pope Honorius III. to transfer his see to Elgin, where the cathedral church of Murray was founded—dedicated, like that of Spynie, to the Holy Trinity. He increased and munificently endowed the prebends of the chapter. One of these was attached to the episcopate, and thus the Bishop of Murray sat in his own chapter as a simple canon, subordinate, as such, to the Dean.⁴

Andrew, Bishop of Murray, died in 1242, and was succeeded by Simon, who was probably at the time dean of the cathedral church.⁵

The decease of Adam, Bishop of Aberdeen, took place in 1228. Matthew, chancellor of the kingdom, the same who was soon afterwards elected to Dunkeld, was named to the see, but declined to accept. Gilbert de Stirling was chosen in the course of the same year. He held the see till his death, in 1239. Gilbert's successor was Ralph de Lambley, Abbot

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 142, 144.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 147, 178. *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cc. 47, 63. *Myne, Vitæ Episcop. Dunkelden.* p. 9-11.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 138.

⁴ *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* pp. 19, 63, 65, 90-94—"Prebenda vero de Fothernais sit simplex canonica, et eam habeat quicumque pro tempore fuerit Moraviensis episcopus. Et ecclesiæ cathedralis sit simplex canonicus." *Ibid.* p. 90. See also Preface, p. xiii.

⁵ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 155. *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 359.

of Arbroath, who died in 1247, and the next bishop was Peter de Ramsay.¹

I have been unable to trace the line of the bishops of Ross during the first half of the thirteenth century. As formerly mentioned, on the death of Reginald in the end of the year 1213, and on the subsequent refusal of Andrew de Moravia to accept the see, Robert, the king's chaplain, was elected. Robert was Bishop of Ross in the year 1228, and in the beginning of the reign of Alexander III.² Under the year 1271, Fordun mentions the death of Robert, Bishop of Ross, who built Rosemarkie.³ It is not likely that it was the same individual who held the see during the whole time; and, in the course of that period, writers of a later age place the episcopate of St. Duthac, for whose shrine the church of Tain became so famous. The name of Duthac is not mentioned by the Melrose chroniclers, by Fordun, or by Winton, nor, as far as I am aware, does it occur in any of the Chartularies.⁴

Adam, Bishop of Caithness, became involved in a contest with the people of that diocese, in regard to the amount of tithes which they were bound to pay. He refused to yield to their demands, and the fierce passions of the half-civilized Northmen were excited by his opposition. They fell upon the bishop at his manor of Halkirk, and murdered him and his friend Serlo, a Cistercian of Newbottle, on Sunday the eleventh of September, 1222.⁵

King Alexander punished the persons guilty of this outrage with severity, and then endeavoured to find a proper

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 149, 177. *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cc. 47, 62.

² *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 122. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. * * 83.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 29.

⁴ See Leslie, ed. 1675, pp. 216, 217; see also Keith's Catalogue, p. 186, and Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, ed. 1833, vol. i. p. 319, and authorities there referred to. "The date assigned to Duthac, like that of many of the Scotch saints, seems too conjectural, and almost irreconcilable with the circumstance of his early life, related in the Breviary of Aberdeen. '*Divina instinctus gratia, navigio ad Hiberniam transfretavit. In quo utriusque Veteris et Novi Testamenti precepta et leges accuratissime didicit.*' This would harmonise with Ireland's history in the eleventh century, and even until 1169, but is hardly consistent with the state of the country, circ. 1220." Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 401, note.

⁵ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 139. *Records of the Bishopric of Caithness*, pp. 9, 10. *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, pp. 355, 356. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 29, 30. *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. c. 37. *Winton*, vol. i. pp. 366, 367.

ruler for the turbulent diocese. His choice fell on Gilbert de Moravia, a member of the great family of that name, and, at the time of his election, Archdeacon of Murray.¹

The long episcopate of Gilbert was in the highest degree beneficial to the diocese over which he had been called to preside under such difficult circumstances. Of noble birth and great accomplishments, both a devout ecclesiastic and an able statesman, he maintained the authority and increased the influence of the Church, without provoking the opposition which his predecessors had encountered.² His great work was the erection of a new cathedral at Dornoch, and the establishment and endowment of a chapter. In framing a constitution for his cathedral, Bishop Gilbert took that of Murray, in which he had been archdeacon, as his model. The chapter of Caithness consisted of ten canons, including the usual dignitaries, a Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Archdeacon. In one important respect it differed from that of Murray: the bishop himself held the highest place in the chapter, as well as in the diocese. For many years there had been an intimate connection between the abbey of Scone and the diocese of Caithness, and the abbot of that monastery was now named one of the canons of the cathedral, without being bound to residence. Before Gilbert was appointed to the see, a single priest officiated at the altar of the humble church of Dornoch. Now the bishop, with the dean and prebendaries, and their vicars, priests or deacons, and the inferior members of the choir, celebrated the holy services continually in the cathedral of the northern diocese.³

Bishop Gilbert died in 1245. After his death he was venerated as a saint, and his festival was observed in the ancient

¹ Records of the Bishopric of Caithness, p. 11. *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cc. 37, 38.

² "Bishop Gilbert appears to have turned to account for the diocese all the means which his position and connexion put in his power. He wielded not only the influence of his family and his own possessions, but the power of the crown. He administered the affairs of government in the north, and superintended the building and fortifying of several royal castles for the security of the country. . . . Sir R. Gordon, the historian of the earldom of Sutherland, mentions a tradition that he was the builder of the castle of Kildrummy, in Mar—the noblest of northern castles." *Records of the Bishopric of Caithness*, p. 11.

³ See constitution of the Cathedral of Dornoch—*ibid.* p. 17-21; see also prefatory remarks, p. 11-14.

Scottish Church, on the first of April. He was succeeded in the bishopric of Caithness by William.¹

The Chronicle of Melrose, which mentions that Gregory succeeded as Bishop of Brechin in 1218, contains no farther allusion to that see till 1249, when it records the death of Bishop Gilbert, and the succession of Robert, Archdeacon of the diocese.² I have not found the name of Gilbert or of Robert in any of the Chartularies, or elsewhere, while that of Gregory repeatedly occurs. In the numerous deeds granted or attested by the Bishops of Brechin in the Ancient Register of Arbroath, although these prelates frequently refer to their predecessors by name, Gilbert and Robert are not mentioned.³ Gregory's real successor appears to have been Albinus, who was elected to the see in 1247.⁴

Abraham succeeded Jonathan as Bishop of Dunblane, and died probably soon after the year 1223. Ralph was for some time bishop-elect, but there is no evidence that he was ever consecrated. He was succeeded by Osbert.⁵

Osbert died in 1231. His successor was Clement, a Dominican friar, who was consecrated at Wedale, in Mid-Lothian, by William, Bishop of St. Andrews, on the fourth of September, 1233.⁶ Soon after his appointment, Clement went to Rome, and represented the destitute condition of his diocese to Pope Gregory IX. In the year 1238, a papal commission was issued to the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld to enquire into the matter, and apply the proper remedy. The deed of appointment sets forth, on the evidence of Clement, that the see of Dunblane had formerly been vacant for more than a hundred years, in the course of which a great part of its possessions had been seized by laymen; that though bishops had afterwards been appointed they had not recovered the ecclesiastical property, but had even lost much of what re-

¹ Preface to the Chartulary of Murray, pp. xliii. xliv. Records of the Bishopric of Caithness, pp. 14, 15, 21. Sir Robert Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 31, 32.

² Chronica de Mailros, pp. 134, 177.

³ See e.g. deed by Albinus in the Arbroath Chartulary, p. 174, where Turpin, Ralph, Hugh, and Gregory, are mentioned as that bishop's predecessors.

⁴ Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. ii. pp. 358, 359.

⁵ Compare Registrum de Inchafray, p. xxviii., and Regist. Vetus de Aberbrothoc, p. 59. See also Keith's Catalogue, p. 172.

⁶ Chronica de Mailros, p. 143.

mained ; that in consequence no fit person could be found willing to accept the office of bishop, and the diocese had been vacant for nearly ten years, till Clement himself was prevailed on to undertake the charge ; that when he was elected the episcopal revenues were hardly sufficient to support him for half the year, that there was no college of canons, and no place in the cathedral where he could lay his head, but in the roofless church a solitary rustic chaplain performed the divine offices.¹ For the remedy of all this, the commissioners were authorized to make a certain apportionment of the tithes of the diocese to the bishop, and for the endowment of a dean and chapter ; or, if they thought fit, to transfer the see to the abbey of Inchaffray, and to constitute the Canons-Regular of that monastery the cathedral chapter in time to come. The episcopal commission did not find it necessary to adopt these measures. Some arrangements in regard to property were made between the bishop and the Earl of Menteith, and the see remained where it was before.²

Several statements in this interesting deed are not free from difficulty. The hundred years of a vacancy must refer to the period before the erection by King David ; and, if Clement's testimony is to be relied on, that erection was only a restoration of the see, not a new foundation. The usurpers of the church lands were undoubtedly lay-lords of the class so common throughout Scotland, and seem now to have been represented in part by the Earl of Menteith. But it is not easy to see how the Church of Dunblane could have been reduced to such poverty, and its cathedral left in a state of desolation worse than that of Dornoch, so soon after the endowment by the Earl of Stratherne ; and there was certainly no vacancy of ten years prior to the appointment of Clement. There was probably some exaggeration in the bishop's complaint. The result of the commissioners' enquiry seems to make this certain. But whatever may have been the former condition of the see,

¹ " Quam [ecclesiam] supradictus episcopus invenit adeo desolatam quod non reperit ubi posset caput suum in cathedrali ecclesia reclinare. Nullum collegium erat ibi, sed in ipsa ecclesia discooperta quidam capellanus ruralis divina officia celebrabat. Ipsius quoque episcopi redditus sunt adeo tenues et exiles quod vix per dimidium anni potest exinde congrue sustentari." Registrum de Inchaffray, p. xxx.

² Ibid. p. xxix.-xxxii.

there is no reason to doubt that much was done for its improvement by Clement. He restored the cathedral, instituted a dean and chapter, and enriched the church with lands and other endowments.¹

Harold was still Bishop of Argyll in 1228. The exact period of his decease has not been ascertained. Hugh was bishop in 1233, and appears to have been succeeded by William, who was drowned in 1241. The next prelate whose name is mentioned is Alan, who is referred to as bishop-elect in 1250.²

Walter, Bishop of Galloway, died in the beginning of 1235. The next election is important, as marking the disputed rights connected with the nomination to that see. On the twenty-fifth of February, Gilbert, master of the novices at Melrose, and formerly abbot of Glenluce, was chosen bishop by the clergy and people of the diocese; and on the eighteenth of March, Odo, Abbot of Holywood, was elected by the prior and canons of Whithorn. The question was brought for decision before the metropolitan, Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, and he, after hearing both parties, held the first election to be valid, and consecrated Gilbert in York Minster, on Sunday, the second of September.³

Reginald, sister's son to Olave, King of the Isles, succeeded Nicholas as Bishop of Man. Though residing in Man, he made his episcopal visitations throughout the other islands of his diocese as far as Lewis; and such, we may presume, was the custom of his predecessors. He is said to have died about 1225, and was buried at Rushin Abbey.⁴

In the year 1154, Pope Anastasius IV., at the request of the legate Nicholas, afterwards Adrian IV., had erected the Church of Drontheim into a metropolitan see, and subjected the other bishops of Norway to the jurisdiction of its archbishop. The see of the Isles was also named among its suffragans in the papal bull. It is probable that the doubts expressed by King Olave in his letter to the chapter of York, which was

¹ Scotichronicon, lib. x. c. 11.

² Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. p. 25. Chronica de Mailros, p. 154. Registrum de Passelet, pp. 134, 342.

³ Chronica de Mailros, pp. 144, 145.

⁴ Chronicon Mannie, pp. 25, 26, 44. See also Keith's Catalogue, p. 299.

formerly mentioned, referred to the opposing pretensions of the English and Norwegian metropolitans, and to the right of election claimed, on one side by the convent of Furness, on the other by the Prince and clergy of Man. These seem to have come into direct collision on the death of Bishop Nicholas. Reginald, supported by his uncles, Olave, the King of the Isles, and Reginald, the ruler of Man, was in actual possession of the see, and received the willing obedience of the people, he himself, as may be presumed, acknowledging the supremacy of the Archbishop of Drontheim. But it appears probable that there was a rival bishop, Nicholas, Abbot of Furness, chosen by his own convent, and consecrated by the Archbishop of York. Pope Honorius III. supported the claims of Nicholas and his English metropolitan, but Reginald retained possession, and the attempt to disturb his right seems finally to have been abandoned.¹

¹ The text contains what seems to be the true explanation of a series of conflicting records. Keith (*Historical Catalogue*, p. 298) supposes that Nicholas de Meaux, Abbot of Furness and Bishop of Man, referred to in several passages of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, was the same with Nicholas of Argyll. But the English Nicholas appears not to have been elected till after the decease of the Scottish prelate; and he was alive and bearing the style of late Bishop of Man in 1227. Keith also supposes that the statement respecting the death of Nicholas of Argyll at Bangor in 1217 is a mistake, and that he only resigned the see at that time. We have, however, the distinct testimony of Pope Honorius III. to the decease of Nicholas before 1220. That testimony is contained in a letter from the Pope to the Bishop of Carlisle and the Bishop-elect of Norwich, dated in the fourth year of his pontificate. It was published by the late Mr. Chalmers of Aldbar, in an interesting paper communicated by him to the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (vol. vi. p. 323-329). The letter refers to a remonstrance made to the Pope by the Bishop of the Isles in person. The bishop's name is not given. It mentions also the decease of the preceding bishop, who is distinguished by the initial letter of his name, N., and who must have been Nicholas of Argyll. It states that the new bishop had been elected by the convent of Furness, to whom the election of right belonged, and that he had been sent by them for confirmation and consecration to the proper metropolitan, the Archbishop of Dublin, legate of the apostolic see—"ad venerabilem fratrem nostrum, Dublinensis archiepiscopum, metropolitanum loci, legatum sedis apostolicæ." It adds that the Prince of the land, and others of the island diocese, had notwithstanding refused to receive him. There is no authority for supposing that the Archbishop of Dublin was ever metropolitan of the Isles, and "Dublinensis" is probably a mistake in the transcript of the Papal Register for "Eboracensem." The dispute between the Archbishops of York and Drontheim was prolonged, like the similar controversy between the English metropolitan and the Scottish prelates, by the irresolute policy of the Roman court, which sometimes supported one side, sometimes the other.

The episcopate of John, the successor of Reginald in the see of Man, was of short duration, and was terminated by his sudden death.¹

The next bishop was Simon. He held a synod of his clergy in 1239, and several canons were enacted, which are still preserved.² He died on the twenty-eighth of February, 1247, after having held the see for eighteen years, and was buried within the new cathedral of St. German, which he had founded.³

The conflicting claims of the Archbishops of York and Drontheim, and of the convent of Furness and the clergy of Man, were still unsettled. Pope Innocent IV. attempted to effect a compromise. In a letter to the Archbishop of York, in 1244, he stated that the abbot and monks of Furness had the right of election, that the persons elected had been consecrated, sometimes by the English metropolitan, sometimes by the Archbishop of Drontheim, but that they dreaded the voyage to Norway, and therefore frequently declined the dignity. For that reason the Pope requested the Archbishop of York in future to confirm and consecrate the bishop-elect, but to do so with the consent of the Archbishop of Drontheim.⁴ This does not seem to have led to any definite arrangement, as the controversy was renewed on the death of Bishop Simon. The Chronicle of Man mentions that after his decease Laurence, the archdeacon, was chosen his successor by the whole chapter of the diocese.⁵ The bishop-elect set out for Norway, to present himself to Harold, King of Man, who was then in that country, and to his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Drontheim; but the king would not consent to his election, on account of some communication which he had received from Man, until Laurence should return with himself to the Isle, and there be

¹ Chronicon Manniæ, p. 45.

² Wilkins's Concilia, vol. i. pp. 664, 665.

³ There is some uncertainty as to the time of Bishop Simon's decease. The date in the text is given on the authority of the Chronicle of Man; see that Chronicle, pp. 35, 45.

⁴ Diplomatarium Norvegicum, as quoted by Professor Munch, of Christiania—Scottish Magazine, vol. i. p. 360.

⁵ "Quo mortuo, communi consilio et assensu totius Mannensis capituli, Laurentius quidam, qui tunc archidiaconus fuit in Mannia, in episcopatum electus est." Chronicon Manniæ, p. 35.

again chosen by the clergy and people. About Michaelmas, 1248, Harold set sail on his homeward voyage, accompanied by his queen, Cecilia, the King of Norway's daughter, whom he had lately married, and by the bishop-elect, but they all perished in a hurricane.¹ After the death of Laurence, the see remained vacant for several years.

Jofreir, Bishop of Orkney, died in 1246. The next bishop was Haufir, who succeeded in 1249.²

¹ *Chronicon Manniæ*, pp. 35, 36.

² *Torfæus*, pp. 164, 165. Keith's Catalogue, p. 220.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING ALEXANDER II. IN 1249, TO THE DEATH OF
KING ALEXANDER III. IN 1286.

Accession of Alexander III.—His Coronation—Cession of Man by the King of Norway—Death of Alexander—Provincial Councils of the reign of Alexander—Bagimont's Roll—Monastic foundations of the reign of Alexander—Abel, Bishop of St. Andrews—Gameline, Bishop of St. Andrews—William Wishart, Bishop of St. Andrews—William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews—Succession of Bishops.

ALEXANDER III., the only son of Alexander II. by his queen, Mary of Couci, was in his eighth year when he succeeded to the Scottish throne. Although the young king was affianced to Margaret, daughter of Henry III., the English sovereign attempted to delay his coronation by applying to the Pope, and reviving the old claim of supremacy. Innocent IV. ultimately rejected the request of Henry; but the Scottish nobles and prelates, anxious to guard against danger, hastened to complete the solemnity. The estates of the kingdom having met at Scone, the Bishop of St. Andrews explained the coronation oath in Latin and in French, and, after girding Alexander with the belt of knighthood, placed him on the stone chair, and crowned him king. When this part of the ceremony was over, an old man of the Celtic race, clothed in the garb of his country, approached the royal seat, and, bending his knee, hailed Alexander in the Gaelic tongue, as King of the Scots and the lineal descendant of the ancient sovereigns of Albany. At the coronation, that language alone was wanting, which was spoken by the most influential portion of Alexander's subjects, and which was soon to be predominant throughout the kingdom.¹

In 1263, Ilaco, King of Norway, invaded Scotland. His fleet was shattered in a hurricane, and his army was defeated at Largs on the second of October. The Scottish and Norse

¹ See *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 1, 2; *Fœdera*, vol. i. part i. p. 277; *Hailes*, vol. i. p. 178; *Tytler's History of Scotland*, 2d ed. vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

historians differ very much in their accounts of the causes, and the particular circumstances, of this war; but its result was fatal to the supremacy which Norway had hitherto exercised over the Western islands and portions of the mainland. After the loss of his great armament, Haco sailed to Orkney, and died there. Within three years a treaty was concluded between Magnus, his son and successor, and the King of Scotland, by which Man and the whole islands of the western sea were ceded to Alexander. Orkney and Zetland still remained under the rule of Magnus. With the sovereignty of Man, Alexander received right also to the patronage of its see, but the metropolitan rights of the Church of Drontheim, whatever these might be, were expressly reserved. Another diocese was thus annexed to the Scottish kingdom, although, like Galloway, it was not yet incorporated into the Scottish Church. This important treaty was signed within the church of the Black Friars at Perth, on the Friday after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year 1266.¹

Margaret, Alexander's queen, died in 1275. There were three children of the marriage, two sons, Alexander and David, and a daughter, Margaret. David died in boyhood. Margaret was married to Eric, King of Norway, and died in 1283, after giving birth to a daughter, called by her mother's name, and known in our history as the Maiden of Norway. In 1282, Alexander, the eldest son, was married to a daughter of the Count of Flanders, but died without issue in January, 1284. This last bereavement left the King of Scotland childless. In 1285, being then in his forty-fifth year, he was united in second marriage to Joleta, daughter of the Count of Dreux. His sudden death, by a fall from his horse, took place on the sixteenth of March, 1286. His body was carried to Dunfermline, and buried there.

The national mind had been deeply affected by the successive calamities which befell the royal house. With Alex-

¹ See the original treaty, and also the ratification of it by King Robert Bruce and Haco V., in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 78, 79, 101-103. Mr. Tytler has pointed out Lord Hailes' mistake in stating that the patronage of the diocese of the Isles was reserved to the Archbishop of Drontheim. The words of the treaty are, "*una cum jure patronatus episcopatus Mannie, salvis jure jurisdictione et libertate Nidrosensis ecclesiæ in omnibus et per omnia, si quod vel quas habet in episcopatu Mannie.*"

ander himself, the male line of King David was at an end, and the crown had descended to an infant in a foreign land. The evils which soon followed were anticipated from the beginning, and the loss which the kingdom had sustained was felt the more, from the recollection of the goodness and noble qualities of the deceased sovereign, and of the happiness which his subjects had enjoyed under his rule. Although this remembrance was deepened by the contrast with the evil times which succeeded, there can be no doubt that Alexander really possessed the temperance, justice, generosity, and piety, which the general voice of Scotland ascribed to him. It is one of the surest proofs of the rancorous feelings excited by the wars which followed, that the English chroniclers attempted to blacken the memory of this sovereign. In his own kingdom it was unnecessary to refute the calumny. The well known lines preserved by Winton—the earliest specimen which we have of Scottish poetry—shew in what light he was regarded by his people.

In the beginning of Alexander's reign, there were several disputes between the clergy and those who administered the government in name of the young king. The bishops complained to the estates of the kingdom, and the liberties of the Church were formally ratified; but, notwithstanding of this, the ecclesiastical grievances were still unredressed, and Pope Innocent IV. issued a bull to the Bishops of Lincoln, Worcester, and Lichfield, to inquire into the matter, and afford a remedy. We are not told what was done; it is probable that the Scottish clergy, whatever cause of complaint there may have been, were unwilling to seek redress through the intervention of English prelates.¹

In 1267, the cardinal-legate, Ottobon, then in England, requested Alexander's permission to enter Scotland, but the king, after consulting with his clergy, positively refused to give it. In the following year, the legate required the Scottish bishops personally, and the clergy by two abbots or two

¹ See Hailes, vol. i. p. 179, and Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 686. The bull of Innocent is to be found in the *Chartulary of Murray*, p. 334-338, and in Hailes, vol. iii. p. 35-40. See also *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. * * 83, from which it appears that Chalmers is mistaken in thinking that an ecclesiastical synod met at Edinburgh. It was evidently a meeting of the estates of the kingdom.

priors as their representatives, to attend a council to be held by him on the fourteenth day after Easter, at whatever place he might then be. This was looked upon as an infringement of the rights of the national Church, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the Prior of Lindores, were sent by the bishops and clergy to watch the proceedings of the synod. Several canons were enacted by the legate, but the Scottish ecclesiastics refused to give obedience to them. In the course of the same year, Clement IV., by the legate's advice, called on the Scottish clergy to contribute a tenth of their benefices, in aid of the crusade which had been undertaken by Prince Edward of England. King Alexander and his clergy declined to comply, saying that the Scots would furnish, from their own country, a sufficient number of crusaders. In conformity with this intimation, the Earls of Atholl and Carrick, and other barons, assumed the cross.¹

In 1268, a council was held at Perth. Fordun mentions nothing of its proceedings, except the excommunication of the Abbot of Melrose and several of his monks, for offences committed against the peace of the Church and kingdom.² Boece gives an account of a council held at Perth about this time under the presidency of Hugh, Bishop of Aberdeen, at which the former provincial canons were confirmed, and new enactments were made. Lord Hailes is of opinion that the Scottish canons, preserved in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, were promulgated at this council, and at the synod of 1242. There is no sufficient evidence to connect those canons with the special councils referred to, but there can be little doubt that they were promulgated, for the most part, about the period assigned to them. This is the opinion of the editor of the Aberdeen Chartulary, Mr. Cosmo Innes, who further thinks that the canons, as a whole, were not the enactments of one or two particular councils, but the collective legislation of the Scottish Church.³

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 22, 24. Hailes, vol. i. pp. 196, 197; vol. iii. p. 216.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 25.

³ See Boece, *Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vita*, p. 10; Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 593; Hailes, vol. i. pp. 297, 198, and vol. iii. p. 217-219; Preface to the Chartulary of Aberdeen, pp. xxv. xxvi. lxxv. lxxvi.

In 1273, a synod was held at Perth, preparatory to the general council summoned to meet at Lyons in the following year. All the Scottish bishops were present at the Council of Lyons, except those of Dunkeld and Murray.¹

The year 1275 was remarkable for the establishment of a new valuation of the Scottish benefices, according to their true worth at the time. Ecclesiastical taxes and payments to Rome had hitherto been calculated by an old valuation, which had come to be much beneath the real worth, and the clergy were naturally desirous of avoiding a change. A council was held at Perth on the sixth of August in this year, by an ecclesiastic, named Benemund or Baiamund de Vicci, who had been sent from Rome to collect a tenth for relief of the Holy Land; and the clergy were required to give up on oath the true value of their benefices. The nuncio, at their request, returned to Rome in order to obtain a continuance of the old valuation, but his mission was unsuccessful. The new taxation is well known in Scottish history by the name of Bagimont's Roll. It was subjected to repeated alterations and additions, and, in the inaccurate and imperfect form in which we now have it, is not older than the reign of James V.²

From a writ in the Chartulary of Murray, we learn that a provincial council was summoned to meet in the church of the Black Friars at Perth, on the Monday after the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1280.³

In the year 1275, a Cistercian monastery was founded in Galloway by the Lady Devorgoil, daughter of Alan, the last Lord of that province, and wife of John Baliol. On her husband's death in 1269, she caused his heart to be embalmed and deposited in a coffer of ivory. Every day the coffer was

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 33, 34. Innes's Critical Essay, p. 593.

² On this subject see *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 35; Hailes, vol. i. p. 199, vol. iii. p. 219-221; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 688-691; Preface to the first volume of the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. xxxiv-xxxix. Hailes has shewn the absurd mistakes of Scottish writers about the nuncio Bagimont. Their calling him a cardinal may have proceeded from the satirical stories told by Fordun, about cardinals and legates, in connection with his valuation. But it shews how little the most accomplished ecclesiastics at the era of the Reformation knew of the real history of their Church, when we find Bishop Leslio placing the proceedings of Bagimont so near his own time as the year 1512.

³ *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 140. Innes's Critical Essay, p. 593. Hailes, vol. iii. p. 221.

set before her, and she did it reverence, as she had done to her lord while living. By her will, it was enjoined that she should be buried within her new foundation with the coffer placed upon her breast. Her directions were obeyed, and the monastery received in consequence the name of *Abbatia de Dulci Corde*, or Sweet-heart Abbey. It was afterwards styled New Abbey, and was the last abbey which was founded in Scotland.¹

The monastery of the Trinity Friars at Fail, in Kyle, is said to have been founded in 1252. The superiors of the houses of this order were styled Ministers. The Minister of Fail was Provincial of the Trinity Friars in Scotland, and in that capacity had a seat in parliament.²

The Carmelite Friars were brought to Scotland in the year 1260. A monastery was founded for them at Tullilum, near Perth, by Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld.³

David, Bishop of St. Andrews, died on the twenty-sixth of April, 1253. On the eve of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the prior and canons chose Robert de Stuteville, Dean of Dunkeld, as successor to David; but Abel, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, opposed the election, and those who administered the government in the king's name refused to sanction it. An appeal was entered to Rome, and Abel, supported by the influence of the crown, went thither in person. He obtained a decision annulling the election, and was himself promoted to the see, and consecrated by the Pope on the ninth of March, 1254. He returned to Scotland but did not long survive, dying on the first of December, in the same year.⁴

Gameline, chancellor of Scotland, was elected by the prior and canons, and consecrated at St. Andrews by William, Bishop of Glasgow, on St. Stephen's day, 1255.⁵ In the course of the political dissensions which took place during the

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 36. *Winton*, vol. ii. p. 68-70. *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 217. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 305, 306.

² *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 491, 492.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 14.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 179, 180. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 58, 60. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. cc. 42, 43; lib. x. c. 8. *Winton*, vol. i. p. 386. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* says that Bishop Abel died on the thirty-first of August.

⁵ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 180, 191. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 62. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 43. *Winton*, vol. i. p. 386.

minority of Alexander III., Gameline was obliged to leave the kingdom, and repair to Rome. His enemies brought several charges against him, but he was acquitted by the Pope, and, on a change in the Scottish government, returned home, and resumed possession of his see. In 1267, a controversy arose between the bishop and the king. A knight, named Sir John de Dunmore, had done notorious wrong to the prior and convent of St. Andrews, and was excommunicated by the bishop. He refused to make satisfaction for his offence, but the king nevertheless requested Gameline to absolve him. This the bishop declined to do. The difference was finally settled, by the knight acknowledging his crime, and repairing the wrong which he had committed.¹ Gameline died on the twenty-ninth of April, 1271.²

On the third of June of the same year in which Bishop Gameline died, William Wishart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and chancellor of the kingdom, and at that time elect of Glasgow, was postulated to the see of St. Andrews. He was consecrated at Scone, on the fifteenth of October, 1273. The delay in his consecration seems to have been caused by some objection taken to his appointment. Fordun mentions that, besides the offices of chancellor and archdeacon, he was then rector or prebendary of two-and-twenty parishes. An English chronicler speaks in severe terms of his private life, but Winton commends him for his virtues. He died on the twenty-eighth of May, 1279.³

The priory of St. Ethernan, in the Isle of May, had been bestowed by King David on the great foundation of his brother-in-law, Henry Beaulclere, at Reading. It was purchased from that abbey by Bishop William, in the commencement of his episcopate, and given as a cell to the canons of St. Andrews.⁴

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 182, 183. *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 22.

² This is the date given by Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 43), and by Winton (vol. i. p. 390.). But the *Chronicle of Melrose* (p. 212), and the *Chronicle of Lanercost* (p. 84), place his death in 1268.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 43; lib. x. c. 28. Winton, vol. i. p. 390-392. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 84, 92, 93, 103. The precise date of Bishop Wishart's election is fixed by the letter from the prior and canons to the Pope, requesting confirmation. See *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* pp. 338, 339.

⁴ *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 26. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 19. *Regist. Priorat. S. Andreæ*, pp. xvii. xxxiv. xxxv. Keith's Catalogue, p. 22. Spottiswood's

The next bishop was William Fraser, chancellor of Scotland. He was elected on the fourth of August, 1279, and consecrated at Rome, by Pope Nicholas III., on the nineteenth of May, 1280.¹

The constitution of the chapter of Glasgow had been framed on the model of that of Salisbury, during the episcopate of Bishop Herbert. The system thus established was renewed and confirmed by William de Bondington. In the year after that bishop's decease, the dean and chapter of Salisbury, at the request of the dean and chapter of Glasgow, sent a full explanation of their constitution and usages, as established by St. Osmund, and these were adopted by the chapter of Glasgow.²

On the death of Bishop William, on the tenth of November, 1258, Nicholas de Moffat, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, was chosen in his room. The Pope, however, not only refused to confirm the election, but appointed and consecrated John de Cheyam to the see.³ Bishop John was born in the south of England; yet, according to the Chronicle of Lanercost, he shewed no friendly feeling towards his own country, in renewing the ancient claim of the Church of Glasgow to jurisdiction as far as the Rere Cross on Stanmore. This claim was resisted, and John went to Rome to vindicate his right, but, on his return, died at Meaux, in 1268.⁴

After the decease of John, Nicholas de Moffat was again appointed, but died before consecration in 1270. William Wishart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was chosen his successor, and, as already mentioned, was soon afterwards postulated to the see of St. Andrews.⁵

Religious Houses, p. 388. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i. p. 134. Spottiswood, Keith, and the editor of the Chartulary of St. Andrews, are mistaken in supposing that this priory was acquired for St. Andrews by Bishop Lambert. He merely confirmed the act of his predecessor.

¹ Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. 44. Winton, vol. i. p. 392. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 103.

² Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen. p. 166-171.

³ Chronica de Mailros, pp. 184, 185. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 65. Scotichronicon, lib. x. c. 11.

⁴ Chronica de Mailros, p. 212. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 65. Scotichronicon, lib. x. c. 24.

⁵ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 53. Scotichronicon, lib. x. cc. 25, 27. The Chronicle of Lanercost mentions here a remark which was made on one occasion

The next bishop was Robert Wishart, Archdeacon of Lothian, who was consecrated at Aberdeen, on the Sunday before the feast of the Purification, in the year 1273, by the Bishops of Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Murray.¹

Richard de Inverkeithing, the king's chamberlain, succeeded Geoffrey, as Bishop of Dunkeld, and was consecrated in the year 1250. He died on the feast of St. Magnus the Martyr, 1272. The next bishop was Robert de Stuteville, dean of the cathedral church, formerly elect of St. Andrews. I have not been able to ascertain the precise date of Robert's decease. Matthew was bishop in the year 1289.²

Simon, Bishop of Murray, died in 1251. A canon of Lincoln, named Ralph, was elected in his place, but died probably before consecration. His successor was Archibald, who was consecrated in 1253.³

In the year 1256, Peter, Bishop of Aberdeen, with consent of the dean and chapter, promulgated a body of statutes for the government of his cathedral. This is the earliest record which we possess regarding the constitution of the chapter of Aberdeen. The bishop himself was one of thirteen canons, and in that capacity was subordinate to the dean. But his powers otherwise were extensive; all the prebendaries being appointed by him, except the dean, who was chosen by the chapter.⁴

Peter de Ramsay died the same year in which this constitution was promulgated. The next bishop was an Englishman,

in presence of King Alexander III., concerning John, Bishop of Glasgow, and his two immediate successors, one of whom was at that time Archdeacon of Teviotdale, and the other chancellor of the kingdom:—"Quod ille tres mirandas in suo dominio haberet personas; unum qui semper rixaretur et nunquam irasceret, hoc pro isto archidiacono; alterum qui semper rideret et nunquam lætus esset, hoc pro tunc cancellario Wyscardo; tertium qui semper pietatem prædicaret, et nunquam ageret, hoc pro Johanne Glascuensi episcopo." It would hardly be fair to take this anecdote as historical evidence.

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 212. *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 29, 30. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* (p. 101) says that he became bishop in 1278, but this date is inconsistent with the precise statement of Fordun, and with various deeds in the *Chartularies of Glasgow and Paisley*.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 178. *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 3, 30. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 85. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* (p. 97) relates the decease of Bishop Richard under the year 1275.

³ *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 359. *Matthew Paris*, vol. ii. p. 486.

⁴ *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. p. 38-50, and preface, pp. lxxvi. lxxvii.

named Richard de Potton, who held the see till his decease in 1270. His successor was Hugh de Benham, who died, as would appear, by a violent death, at the episcopal residence of Loch-Goul, in the year 1282. The next bishop was Henry le Cheyne, a member of the great family of that name.¹

Robert, Archdeacon of Ross, succeeded his predecessor of the same name, as bishop of that diocese, in the year 1271. His episcopate must have been very brief, since we find that Matthew, Bishop of Ross, was consecrated by the Pope, and returned to Scotland in 1272. Bishop Matthew again went abroad to attend the Council of Lyons, and died while it was sitting, in the year 1274. His successor was Thomas de Fyvie; and after him we find another Robert holding the see in 1289.²

William, Bishop of Caithness, was succeeded by Walter de Baltrodi, who died in the year 1270. On his decease, Nicholas, Abbot of Scone, was chosen bishop, but his election was set aside by the Pope. Archibald, Archdeacon of Murray, was then elected, and was consecrated in the year 1275. In 1289, Alan was bishop, and the decease of Archibald probably took place a short time before that date.³

Albinus, Bishop of Brechin, died in 1269, and was succeeded by William, dean of the cathedral church. William went to Rome to obtain confirmation, and died there in 1274. Another William, a Dominican friar, was next chosen, and was consecrated in 1275.⁴

Clement, Bishop of Dunblane, died in 1258, and was succeeded by Robert de Prebenda, dean of the cathedral church.

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 182. *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 11, 28. *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. pp. 126, 247, 248, and preface, p. xxvi. Fordun places the death of Bishop Peter in 1257.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 29, 30, 34. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 85.

³ *Records of the Bishopric of Caithness*, p. 21. *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 27, 33, 36. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 85. Fordun mentions that the Abbot of Scone, as such, was a canon of Caithness. This is one of the many incidental notices which shew the accuracy of his information on ecclesiastical subjects.

⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 217. *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cc. 22, 34, 36. Fordun places the death of Albinus in 1267. There is some confusion between the two Williams in the Chronicle of Melrose.

Robert was bishop in 1277. His decease took place between that date and 1289, in which year William held the see.¹

Alan, Bishop of Argyll, died in 1262, and was succeeded by Laurence, a Dominican friar.²

On the decease of Gilbert, Bishop of Galloway, in 1253, Henry, Abbot of Holyrood, was elected. On this occasion, as on the appointment of Gilbert himself, a dispute arose, connected with the peculiar circumstances attending the foundation of the see. The nomination of Henry was opposed by John Baliol, of Barnard Castle, as interfering with the rights which he had acquired through his marriage with the Lady Devorgoil, but was supported by the king, who also claimed the patronage. Baliol finally acquiesced in the appointment, and Henry, along with the Bishop-elect of Carlisle, was consecrated at St. Agatha, near Richmond, by Walter, Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Durham, on the seventh of February, 1255.³

The vacancy in the see of Man, which followed the death of Laurence, was ended by the appointment of an Englishman, named Richard, who was consecrated at Rome by the Archbishop of Drontheim, probably in the year 1252. In 1253, the bull of erection of Drontheim as the metropolitan Church of Norway, with the diocese of the Isles as one of its suffragan bishoprics, was confirmed by Innocent IV. In 1257, Bishop Richard consecrated the church of St. Mary at Rushin. He died in 1274, on his return from the Council of Lyons.⁴

The authority of the Chronicle of Man is followed in regard to the episcopate of Richard, but, connected with it, is another of the difficulties so common in the history of this diocese. It has been supposed, on the authority of a writ in the Charter of Paisley, that in the year 1253 there was a bishop of the Isles named Stephen, who was also entrusted by the Pope with the administration of the diocese of Argyll.⁵ The

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 183, 185. *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. c. 11. *Foedera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 543. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 85. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 166.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 162.

³ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 180-182. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 59, 62.

⁴ *Chronicon Mannie*, pp. 41, 45. Papal bulls referred to in letter from Professor Munch—*Scottish Magazine*, vol. i. p. 360.

⁵ "Stephanus, Dei gratia, Sodorensis episcopus, ecclesie Lesmorensis per dominum papam curie gestor." *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 135.

writ itself does not bear any date, and that which has been assigned to it cannot be the true one, for among the witnesses is Walter, son of Alan, Steward of Scotland, who, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, died in 1241. I am unable to say with certainty who this Stephen was. No prelate of that name appears in the lists of the bishops of Man, and I can only conjecture that he was one of the bishops elected by the convent of Furness, and consecrated by the Archbishop of York, who were not recognised in the island whence they drew their title, but occasionally discharged episcopal functions in other dioceses.

The next bishop was Marcus, a native of Galloway, who was consecrated at Tunsberg, in Norway, in the year 1275, by the Archbishop of Drontheim.¹

Henry appears to have been the successor of Haufir as Bishop of Orkney. He accompanied Haco in his invasion of Scotland, and died in 1269. In 1270, Peter was appointed to the see. This prelate headed the embassy which was sent by Eric, King of Norway, in 1281, to conclude the treaty of marriage with Margaret, daughter of Alexander III. He died in 1284. The next bishop was Dolgfin, who succeeded in 1286.²

¹ Icelandic Annals, as quoted by Professor Munch—Scottish Magazine, vol. i. p. 362. *Chronicon Manniæ*, p. 45.

² Torfæus, p. 172. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 79. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 220, 221. Tytler, vol. i. p. 28. The statement of Torfæus, which is followed in the text, in regard to the date of Peter's appointment, cannot be reconciled with an incidental notice in the Chronicle of Lanercost (p. 97), under the year 1275, of a Bishop of Orkney, named William.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING ALEXANDER III. IN 1286, TO THE DEATH OF
KING ROBERT I. IN 1329.

*Accession of Margaret—Her death—Disputed succession—
Accession of John Baliol—War with England—Accession
of Robert Bruce—Treaty of Northampton—Death of King
Robert—Consequences of the War of Independence—Pro-
vincial Councils of the reign of Robert—William Fraser,
Bishop of St. Andrews—William Lamberton, Bishop of
St. Andrews—James Bene, Bishop of St. Andrews—Suc-
cession of Bishops.*

MARGARET, the infant grand-daughter and successor of Alexander III., remained in Norway, while the government of Scotland was administered by a regency acting in her name. Negotiations were soon commenced for her marriage with Edward of Caernarvon, son of the King of England, and were brought to a conclusion on terms approved of by all the parties concerned. There was now every prospect that the two kingdoms would be permanently united, but it was not the will of God that this event should yet take place. The youthful queen, on her way to Scotland, landed in Orkney, and died there in September, 1290. It would be interesting, were it not idle, to speculate on what would have been the consequences of a union between England and Scotland at a time when no lasting or deadly strife had set the two nations at variance, and when, ecclesiastically, they were entirely agreed.¹

No provision had been made for the succession to the crown on the failure of descendants of Alexander III. Numerous claimants appeared, but the two possessing the best title were John Baliol, the son of the foundress of New Abbey, and Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, both descended from daugh-

¹ A letter, written to King Edward in 1289, on the subject of the marriage, contains, in addition to the names of the temporal nobility, those of all the bishops of Scotland, twelve in number, of twenty-three abbots, and eleven priors. This is the earliest complete list, so far as I am aware, of those holding the high ecclesiastical dignities in the Scottish Church at any one time. See *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 85.

ters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the youngest grandson of King David. The King of England was appointed umpire to settle the dispute, and he gave his decision in favour of Baliol. The successful competitor was crowned at Scone, on St. Andrew's day, 1292.

The events which marked the unfortunate reign of King John are well known, and need not be related here. The English king asserted his right to the sovereignty of Scotland. The Scots resisted in vain; their army was defeated; and Baliol, after the most abject submission, was compelled to abdicate in the year 1296. Scotland was treated like a conquered country, and the spirit of national resistance to English supremacy was thoroughly awakened. Notwithstanding the abdication of Baliol, the struggle for freedom was maintained in his name by Wallace, and the other patriot leaders, till, tired of asserting the claims of one who was unable to protect his kingdom, the great body of the nation welcomed the accession of Robert Bruce, grandson of the Lord of Annandale.

King Robert was crowned at Scone, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1306. The stone chair and the other insignia of royalty had been carried away by Edward. But a golden coronal was substituted for the crown; the royal robes were provided by the zealous Bishop of Glasgow; and the Countess of Buchan, taking the place of her brother, the Earl of Fife, then in the service of England, placed Robert on the throne. On the sixth of July in the following year, King Edward died, close to the borders of the country which he had sworn to subdue. What Hailes says in regard to Henry II. may yet more correctly be applied to Edward—no Scotsman can draw his character with impartiality. It is probable that he was himself persuaded of the justice of his claim to be Lord Paramount of Scotland. He therefore treated the Scots, not as foreign enemies, but as rebels against their sovereign. Baliol also, as an English baron, was a subject of Edward, and neither of them could forget their original position. But making due allowance for these circumstances, to Edward must be attributed the guilt and the misery of the deadly struggle, and the bitter enmity to which his proceedings led. Hence the very different light in which he was regarded by Scottish writers before the death of Alexander, and after the war of

independence was begun. The "*gloriosus Christi miles*" of the Melrose chronicler is the "*Edwardus tyrannus*" of Fordun.

Happily for Scotland, Edward II. had not the ability and resolution which were necessary to carry out his father's designs. The victory of Bannockburn secured the throne of Bruce and the independence of his kingdom. From that time the war was conducted by the Scots almost with uniform success. Unable to defend his own dominions, Edward sought the assistance of the papal court. John XXII. sent two cardinals to Britain, in the year 1317, with instructions to proclaim and enforce a truce between the contending nations. These legates did not themselves proceed farther than Durham, but employed the Bishop of Corbeil, and an ecclesiastic, named Aymer, to repair to the King of the Scots. They found him at the head of his army, and delivered their message. The sealed letters of the Pope were addressed to Bruce, as Governor, not as King, of Scotland, and he refused to read them. The legates afterwards sent Adam de Newton, guardian of the Franciscan monastery of Berwick, to proclaim the papal truce in the Scottish camp. The messenger found King Robert in a wood near Berwick, preparing to attack that city. Again he refused to look at the documents which did not bear his royal title. "I will pay no attention," he said, "to any bulls which are not addressed to me as King of the Scots." The conduct of Bruce on this occasion is easily understood. He had not only the same reasons which his predecessors had for jealously watching the proceedings of papal envoys: his own rights, and the independence of his kingdom, would have been compromised, had he yielded to injunctions which English influence or money had obtained from the court of Avignon.¹

King Robert would not obey an ecclesiastical sentence obtained by improper means, but he was anxious to procure a recall of the censures which had been pronounced against him. To prepare the way for this, he sent his nephew, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, to Avignon, in 1323. In 1328, the treaty of Northampton was concluded between the English and

¹ *Foedera*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 340, 341, 351, 362-364, 407, 408. *Hailes*, vol. ii. p. 84-87. *Tytler*, vol. i. p. 296-303.

the Scots. By its provisions the title of King Robert, and the independence of his kingdom, were solemnly acknowledged, and the princess Joan, sister to Edward III., was betrothed to David, the only son of the Scottish sovereign. This was soon followed by a reconciliation with the see of Rome, and the concession of a privilege which hitherto the kings of Scotland had not enjoyed. At the special request of Robert, Pope John granted a bull, which, after reciting, on the authority of the statement in the petition, that of old the kings of Scotland had always received the royal insignia from the bishops of St. Andrews, declared, that thenceforth they should receive both the crown and the rite of unction from the bishops of that see, whom failing, from the bishops of Glasgow.¹

King Robert died at his castle of Cardross, on the Clyde, on the seventh of June, 1329. It had been his wish, as soon as peace was restored to his kingdom, to repair to Palestine, and spend the rest of his life in warfare with the Infidels. This was prevented by his last sickness. He therefore directed his heart to be embalmed, and requested his friend, Sir James Douglas, to carry it to the Holy Land, and deposit it in the sepulchre of our Lord. The king's body was buried at Dunfermline, and Douglas set out on his pilgrimage. Landing in Spain, he was slain in battle with the Moors. The heart of Bruce was brought back to Scotland, and, in terms of a wish which he had expressed before he directed it to be taken to Jerusalem, was interred at Melrose.

The character of our great king is well known. The political errors of his youth, and the fierce deed which stained his accession to the crown, were followed by a life of peril and hardship, during which, in the pursuit of one high object, he shewed himself as uniformly generous, chivalrous, and self-denying, as any knight or sovereign whose name the annals of the middle ages have handed down to us.

The long war which was brought to a successful close by Bruce was, on the part of the Scots, a just one, and ended in the establishment of one of the greatest of earthly blessings to a nation—its freedom from a foreign yoke. But the contest led to many evils, from the effects of which Scotland, for a

¹ Wilkins's Concilia, vol. ii. p. 555. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. ii. pp. 337, 338.

long period, continued to suffer. The outward prosperity and civilization of the country, which had been steadily advancing since the accession of Edgar, received a fatal interruption. Throughout the Lowlands, the reign of law and order, and the course of improvement generally, were impeded. It was still worse in the islands, and in the mountainous districts of the west and north. King David and his descendants had made their authority be felt in the most remote portions of their kingdom; but, from the commencement of the English wars, the Anglo-Norman civilization retrograded, and the barbarism of the Celtic tribes became even worse than it had been before it came in contact with the refinement of a superior race. Writers of learning and ability have asserted, with every appearance of correctness, that Scotland was further advanced at the era of Alexander's death, than it was at any subsequent time prior to the eighteenth century.

The war of independence brought out strongly, and greatly increased, the patriotic and national feelings of the Scots, but it did so by producing an intense dislike to England. Previously, although there had been two kingdoms, it might almost be said that from the reign of David there had been but one nation. In both, a powerful nobility, chiefly of Norman origin, ruled a people for the most part of Saxon or of Scandinavian race; and in Scotland their government had little of the harshness which marked it beyond the Tweed. The clergy of the two countries were yet more closely united. The war put an end to this happy state of things. Most of the great nobles, and the clergy of English birth, were driven from Scotland; and the body of the people entirely forgot the common origin which connected them with the southern kingdom.

But the evil did not stop with these external changes. There is the best evidence for believing that the moral and religious character of the nation was altered for the worse, and that the progress of ecclesiastical improvement was entirely stopped. The sacred buildings which had been destroyed by the English were restored by the munificence of King Robert and his adherents, but the Church never regained the hold, which it formerly had, over the obedience and affections of the people. The clergy, zealous as the laity in the national

quarrel, forgot their proper duties, and the higher ecclesiastics sometimes appeared in arms at the head of their feudal retainers—an abuse of which there is scarcely a trace in our previous history. Worse even than this was the readiness with which they took and broke the oaths of fealty which they swore to Edward. The relaxed discipline and loose morality, which prevailed in consequence, were never corrected, but rather tended to increase.

During this troubled period, the clergy continued to meet in council, but few notices of their proceedings remain. On St. Matthias' day, in the year 1310, a provincial synod assembled at Dundee. The clergy issued a declaration that they had willingly joined with the laity in raising King Robert to the throne.¹ Another synod met at Perth, in July, 1321. We are not informed what was transacted there, beyond some judicial proceedings of no importance.² A council was held at Scone, on the Thursday before the feast of the Annunciation, in the year 1324, by the Conservator, the Bishop of Dunkeld. Its proceedings are not recorded.³

William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews, was one of the regents of the kingdom after the death of Alexander III. He retired to France during the civil commotions which followed, and died in that country, on the twentieth of August, 1297.⁴

His successor was William Lamberton, chancellor of Glasgow, who was chosen by the prior and canons, on the fifth of November, 1297. On this occasion, the Culdees of St. Andrews made an effort to recover their ancient privilege of joining in the election of a bishop. Their prior, William Cumyn, went to Rome to oppose the appointment by the canons, but his attempt was unsuccessful. Pope Boniface VIII. confirmed the election, and himself consecrated the bishop-elect, on the first of June, 1298.⁵

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 100. Innes's Critical Essay, pp. 593, 594. Hailes, vol. iii. pp. 221, 222.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 118, 119. Hailes, vol. iii. p. 222.

³ Regist. Episcopat. Glasgwen. p. 231. Innes's Critical Essay, p. 594. Lord Hailes (vol. iii. p. 223) expresses a doubt whether this was a parliament or a provincial council; but the writ in the Chartulary of Glasgow shews that it was a synod of the clergy.

⁴ Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. 44. Winton, vol. ii. pp. 98, 99

⁵ Scotichronicon, *ibid.*

On the seventeenth of November, 1309, Bishop William, then owing allegiance to Edward II., in virtue of a commission from Clement V., and acting along with one of the Pope's clerks, examined a number of witnesses in connection with the proceedings against the Knights Templars. Among others, the only two members of the order then in Scotland were interrogated, but nothing definite was discovered against them.¹

The cathedral of St. Andrews had been begun by Bishop Arnold, and the building was continued by every succeeding prelate. The work was finished under the episcopate of William, and, on the fifth of July, 1318, the church was consecrated, in presence of King Robert, seven bishops, fifteen abbots, and almost all the temporal nobility of the kingdom.²

Lamberton had repeatedly sworn obedience to the King of England, and had as often broken his oath, and joined himself to the cause which he all along favoured at heart. Irritated by his faithlessness, Edward II. endeavoured to persuade the Pope to remove him from the see of St. Andrews, and to substitute in his place an English friar Minorite, named Thomas de Rivers. He alleged that Pope Clement V. had at one time actually bestowed the bishopric on Rivers, and he entreated John XXII. to ratify the appointment of his predecessor. The application was unsuccessful. Whatever the court of Rome may have done at first, it was unwilling to take so decided a part against the victorious King of the Scots, and to sanction a measure which it was quite unable to enforce.³

Bishop William died probably about the beginning of June, 1328. On the nineteenth of that month the canons proceeded to elect a successor, and the votes were divided between two chief dignitaries of the diocese, James Bene, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Alexander Kyninmund, Archdeacon of Lothian. The former obtained the support of the court of Rome, and was confirmed in the see. The Culdees and their

¹ The interesting record of the examination is inserted in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 380-383, and is reprinted in the second volume of the Spottiswood Society Miscellany, p. 7-16.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. xii. c. 37. Winton, vol. ii. p. 131.

³ *Foedera*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 363, 374, 406. Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. p. 156-161.

prior, William Cumyn—the same person apparently who had opposed the appointment of Lamberton—again resisted the election, but did not venture to persevere in an appeal.¹

Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, was one of the regents after the decease of Alexander III. When the civil war began, he was more uniformly bold and open in his resistance to the English than Bishop Lamberton, but he was as careless of his plighted word, and of his oath—swearing to obey King Edward, and then joining his countrymen. He supported Wallace at an early period of his career, and absolved Bruce from the slaughter of Cumyn. He appeared in arms against the invaders, and was accused by King Edward of applying the timber which he had given him to build the spire of his cathedral in constructing war engines to batter the castles held by the English. He was made prisoner in 1306, and was only released after the battle of Bannockburn, along with other captives, in exchange for the Earl of Hereford. He had become blind during his captivity, and died soon after his liberation, in the year 1316.²

Stephen de Donydouer, chancellor of the cathedral, was chosen to succeed Bishop Robert. He went to Rome to have his appointment confirmed, but was opposed by Edward II. It is thought that he died on his journey, and that he was never consecrated.³

There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the episcopal succession after the death of Stephen, but it is probable that John de Lindsay was his immediate successor, and that he continued to hold the see at the date of King Robert's decease.⁴

¹ *Scoticronicon*, lib. vi. cc. 44, 45. *Winton*, vol. ii. pp. 135, 136.

² *Keith's Catalogue*, pp. 241, 242. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 617, 618. Preface to the *Chartulary of Glasgow*, pp. xxxv. xxxvi. *Palgrave's Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland*, p. 340-350.

³ *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 242. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 618. Preface to the *Chartulary of Glasgow*, p. xxxvi. *Foedera*, vol. ii. part i. p. 337.

⁴ *Keith*, *Chalmers*, and the editor of the *Glasgow Chartulary*, differ in their accounts of the bishops who came after Stephen. But they are agreed that his two immediate successors were named John, one bearing the surname of Wishart, the other that of Lindsay, and that Wishart previously held the office of arch-deacon of the diocese. Bishop Keith, and, with some hesitation, Mr. Cosmo Innes, place Wishart before Lindsay; *Chalmers* thinks that Lindsay preceded Wishart. I can find no sufficient evidence that John Wishart was ever Bishop of

Matthew, Bishop of Dunkeld, died probably in 1309. Edward II. attempted to procure the see for his almoner, John de Leek, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin; but he did not succeed in this, William de St. Clair, of the house of Roslin, being chosen bishop.¹ In the year 1317, a body of English soldiers landed at Inverkeithing, and began to plunder the country. The Earl and the Sheriff of Fife advanced against them, but were obliged to retreat. The Bishop of Dunkeld, who was then residing at his manor of Ochirtoul, hearing that the English had landed, put himself at the head of his vassals, and hastened to oppose them. Meeting his flying countrymen, he asked them whither they were going. "The English," said the sheriff, "are more numerous and stronger than we; and we dare not fight with them." "Our lord the king," said the bishop, "would do well to hack your gilt spurs from off your heels. All who love their king and country, follow me." Throwing off his chimere and grasping a lance, the bishop led the Scots against the invaders, and drove them back to their ships. King Robert ever after held William in great honour, styling him his own bishop.² He continued to occupy the see of Dunkeld at the accession of David II.³

Glasgow. The see was vacant in February, 1318, and at Christmas, 1321. John was bishop in March, 1322; at Lady-day, 1324; in April, 1325; in March, 1326; and so on till after the accession of David II. The see was vacant by the decease of John, in February, 1336, and Bishop William Rae speaks of John de Lindsay as his predecessor. In all these notices there is nothing to induce a belief that there were two bishops of the name of John; and this is confirmed by the fact that, in 1325, John Wishart was still Archdeacon of Glasgow. I am not aware of any writ in which a bishop of the name of John Wishart is mentioned. See Keith's Catalogue, pp. 243, 244; Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 618-620; Preface to the Chartulary of Glasgow, pp. xxxvi. xxxvii. See also the Chartulary of Glasgow, pp. 231-233, 249-251, 259; Chartulary of Paisley, p. 238; the Ancient Chartulary of Arbroath, pp. 213, 214; Charters of Holyrood, p. 189; and Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 123. A writ in the *Foedera* (vol. ii. part i. p. 401), to which the date of 19th July, 1319, is assigned, mentions "*J. Glasguensis Episcopus*," but it is doubtful whether the date can be relied on.

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 82. *Foedera*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 86, 87, 155.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. xii. c. 25. Barbour, Innes's ed. p. 380-383.

³ Both record and chronicle attest the continuance of William's episcopate to the end of Robert's reign—see *Scotichronicon*, lib. xiii. c. 24; Charters of Holyrood, p. 87; *Foedera*, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 876, 878; and Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 123, 173; yet a document in the Register of the Church

Archibald, Bishop of Murray, died on the ninth of December, 1298. His successor was David de Moravia, who was consecrated at Anagni, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1299. He was a zealous adherent of King Robert, and, in his sermons to the people of his diocese, told them that in fighting for their sovereign against the English, they were doing as meritorious service as if they were contending in the Holy Land against heathens and Saracens. During the reverses of the early part of Bruce's reign, Bishop David was obliged to take refuge in Orkney. He died on the ninth of January, 1326.¹ Towards the end of his episcopate, he founded an endowment in the University of Paris for Scottish students, especially those belonging to his own diocese; and this was the commencement of what afterwards became the Scots College at Paris.²

The next bishop was John Pilmore. While elect of Ross, he was appointed to the see of Murray, and was consecrated at Avignon, by Pope John XXII., on the thirtieth of March, 1326.³

Henry, Bishop of Aberdeen, died in 1328. His successor was Alexander de Kyninmund, Archdeacon of Lothian, who was appointed to the see of Aberdeen by papal provision, when Archdeacon Bene was raised to the episcopate of St. Andrews.⁴

Robert, Bishop of Ross, was succeeded by Thomas de Dundee, who was witness to the renewal of the treaty with Norway, in 1312. The see was again vacant about the year 1325, when John Pilmore was chosen bishop. That prelate,

of Glasgow (p. 231) refers to *Walter*, Bishop of Dunkeld, as the Conservator who presided at the synod of Scone in 1324. "Walter" was probably the mistake of a transcriber for William.

¹ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. p. 359. *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 1010. Palgrave's Documents and Records, p. 330.

² Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. pp. 253, 254. Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. ii. pp. vi. vii. It is much to be desired that some one, qualified for the task, and possessing means of access to the documents which still remain, would write an account of the Scottish College at Paris. The common opinion regarding the early importance of the institution seems to be very erroneous. Exaggerated notions on this point were entertained even by Mr. Tytler; see his *History*, vol. ii. p. 296. The "*bursæ*" founded by Bishop David in the University of Paris did not necessarily imply the establishment of a college.

³ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. pp. 359, 360.

⁴ Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon. vol. ii. p. 248. *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 45.

however, was raised to the episcopate of Murray, and, soon after the accession of David II., we find another bishop, named John, presiding over the diocese of Ross.¹

Alan, Bishop of Caithness, died in the year 1291. His successor was Ferquhard de Belegaumbe, the exact date of whose decease I have been unable to ascertain. He was bishop in the year 1321.²

William, Bishop of Brechin, was succeeded by John de Kyninmund. John was bishop as early, at least, as the year 1304, and held the see almost to the end of King Robert's reign. Adam was bishop-elect in 1328, and was consecrated in the same year, probably at Avignon, by William, Bishop of Sabina.³

William, Bishop of Dunblane, was succeeded, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, by Nicholas de Balmyle, formerly chancellor of Scotland. On the death of Nicholas, Edward II. wrote to the Pope, asking him to promote to the see of Dunblane, a Dominican friar, named Richard de Pontefract; but his request was disregarded. Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, was appointed bishop, and in that character attests a writ of King Robert in favour of Henry, Bishop of Aberdeen, in the year 1318. Maurice, while Abbot of Inchaffray, heard the confession of the King of the Scots, and celebrated mass, before the battle of Bannockburn. Bare-footed and carrying a cross, he advanced in front of the soldiers, and exhorted them to fight bravely for their country. They kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer, and commended themselves to God. The English thought they had lost courage and were asking mercy. A knight in the army of Edward, Sir Ingram de Umfraville, exclaimed, "They ask mercy indeed, but not from us."

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 187. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 103. Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. p. 359. Foedera, vol. ii. part ii. p. 876.

² Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 6. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 100, 119.

³ Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, pp. 184, 339. Notes to the Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 427. Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. ii. pp. 389, 390.

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 100, 118. Foedera, vol. ii. part i. p. 428. Regist. Priorat. S. Andreae, p. 120. Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon. vol. i. p. 45. Scotichronicon, lib. xii. c. 21. Barbour, p. 290. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 225.

Laurence was still Bishop of Argyll, in the year 1299. His successor Andrew was also a friar. He joined with the other bishops in setting forth the claims of King Robert, and continued to hold the see in the year 1327.¹

Henry, Bishop of Galloway, died on the feast of All Saints, 1293, and was succeeded by Thomas de Daltown, who was consecrated at Ripon, on the fifteenth of August, 1294. In 1310, and 1311, Bishop Thomas, as a suffragan of York, was present at two provincial councils held within the metropolitan church of St. Peter, relative to the charges against the Knights Templars. He appears to have been succeeded by Henry, whom we find holding the see in the beginning of the reign of David II.²

In the year 1291, Marcus, Bishop of Man, held a synod of his clergy. Several canons were then enacted which are still preserved. Marcus survived till about the beginning of King Robert's reign, and was succeeded by Alan, who died on the fifteenth of February, 1321. The next bishop was Gilbert M'Lellan, who, after an episcopate of two years and a half, was succeeded by Bernard de Linton, Abbot of Arbroath, and chancellor of Scotland. Bernard was bishop-elect in the year 1328.³

William succeeded Dolgfin, as Bishop of Orkney in 1310. In the year 1320, the Norwegian primate authorized the Archdeacon of Man, and a prebendary of the metropolitan Church of Drontheim, to visit the Orkneys, and enquire into certain complaints made against Bishop William.⁴

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 100. *Registrum de Passelet*, pp. 131, 137.

² *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 154, 155. *Foedera*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 876. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 131. *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 393-401.

³ *Chronicon Manniæ*, pp. 45, 46. *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 175-180. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 100. *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 220, 316. *Scotichronicon*, lib. xi. c. 35.

⁴ *Torffæus*, p. 172. Professor Munch's letter—*Scottish Magazine*, vol. i. pp. 362, 363. *Barry's History of the Orkney Islands*, p. 191.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING ROBERT I. IN 1329, TO THE DEATH OF
KING ROBERT III. IN 1406.

*Accession of David II.—Foundation of Collegiate Churches—
William de Landel, Bishop of St. Andrews—Succession
of Bishops—Accession of Robert II.—Accession of Robert
III.—Captivity of Prince James—Death of Robert III.—
Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews—Henry Wardlaw,
Bishop of St. Andrews—Cardinal Walter Wardlaw,
Bishop of Glasgow—Succession of Bishops.*

DAVID II. was only five years old at his father's decease, but the Scots did not feel the loss which they had sustained to its full extent, so long as the regent, the Earl of Murray, lived. The young king and his queen Joan were crowned and anointed at Scone, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1331. The officiating prelate, in terms of the papal bull, was the Bishop of St. Andrews.

The government of the regent was distinguished for its firmness and ability, but he did not long survive. He died in July, 1332, and, within little more than two months, the battle of Duplin was fought, and Edward Baliol was crowned King of the Scots. The nobles who remained faithful to the house of Bruce conveyed David II. to France, whence he did not return till the year 1341. In 1346, King David was made prisoner at the battle of Durham. He was not liberated till 1357, and the remaining years of his reign were disgraced by a series of negotiations with Edward III., which had for their object the surrender of his own rights and the liberties of his kingdom, and an acknowledgment of the English supremacy. David died at Edinburgh on the twenty-second of February, 1371, and was buried in the church of Holyrood. Immoral in his personal character, without principle, and without ability as a ruler, the son of Bruce was the worst sovereign who had reigned in Scotland since the accession of Edgar.

The ecclesiastical transactions in the reign of David were

few and uninteresting. A period of strife and commotion is generally unfavourable to religion, and such was peculiarly the case in Scotland at this time. A disputed succession to the crown, civil war, and foreign invasion, all contributed to distract the kingdom. The government under the various regencies after the death of Randolph was weak and corrupt, and the return of the sovereign afforded no alleviation.

A provincial council of the Scottish clergy is supposed to have been held at Edinburgh, in September, 1357, in connection with the arrangements for the ransom of King David.¹

On the twenty-sixth of November, 1359, a provincial council met within the church of the Black Friars at Aberdeen.² The nature of the proceedings is not mentioned.

During the reign of David II., we find the first notice of the foundation of a collegiate church. The less fervent zeal and diminished wealth of the kingdom did not allow the continuance of the great cathedral and monastic endowments of former days. What munificence remained was bestowed on collegiate churches for secular canons, and on conventual establishments for the mendicant orders. The first collegiate church in Scotland appears to have been Dunbar, which was founded in 1342, by Patrick, Earl of March, for a dean, an archpriest, and eighteen canons.³

James, Bishop of St. Andrews, dreading the tyranny of the English, retired to Flanders after the battle of Duplin, and died at Bruges, on the twenty-second of September, 1332.⁴

After the decease of Bishop Bene, William Bell, Dean of Dunkeld, was chosen by the canons; the Culdees being now entirely and finally excluded from all participation in the election. The bishop-elect repaired to Avignon, to procure confirmation, but, after a lengthened residence at the papal court, was unable to attain his object. Edward III. wrote to the Pope requesting him to appoint Robert de Ayleston, Archdeacon of Berks, to the episcopate of St. Andrews. The Pope declined to comply, but was probably unwilling or afraid to confirm the choice of the canons. The see remained vacant in consequence for nine years. At the end of that

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 155. Hailes, vol. iii. p. 223.

² Regist. Episcopat. Aberdeen. vol. i. p. 86.

³ Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 511.

⁴ Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. 45. Winton, vol. ii. p. 158.

period, William de Landel, parson of Kinkell, was appointed bishop by Pope Benedict XII., and was consecrated on the seventeenth of March, 1342. He appears to have been previously elected by the chapter, on the resignation of the Dean of Dunkeld.¹ Bishop William continued to hold the see during the rest of the reign of David.

John de Lindsay, Bishop of Glasgow, having gone over to France, embarked on his return to Scotland in August, 1335. The ship in which he sailed was attacked and taken by the English, and the bishop himself and many other noble persons were slain.²

The next bishop was William Rae, who held the see till his death on the twenty-seventh of January, 1368. He was succeeded in the same year by Walter de Wardlaw, formerly Archdeacon of Lothian, and who, in that capacity, had obtained permission from Edward III., in October, 1366, to exercise his functions within those parts of the Merse which were subjected to England.³

William, Bishop of Dunkeld, notwithstanding the zeal which he had shewn in the cause of Bruce, was present at the parliament held at Edinburgh by Edward Baliol, in February, 1334. He is said to have died in 1337; the diocese was certainly vacant in November, 1339. Malcolm de Innerpeffrey was bishop-elect in March, 1342. It does not appear whether he was ever consecrated. The next bishop was Richard, whom we find holding the see in 1345, and who must have died between that year and 1357, when John had succeeded to the episcopate. John was still bishop in 1370.⁴

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 45. *Winton*, vol. ii. pp. 158, 159, 248-250. *Foedera*, vol. ii. part. ii. pp. 847, 854, 866.

² *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 291. *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 244, and *Walsingham*, as there quoted. *Hailes*, vol. ii. pp. 216, 217. Preface to the *Chartulary of Glasgow*, p. xxxvii. The year of Bishop Lindsay's death is disputed, but, as the see was vacant in February, 1336 (*Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 249-251), the true date seems to be 1335. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* asserts that the bishop died of grief after his capture.

³ *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 244-246. *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 620. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 615, and preface, pp. xxxviii. xxxix. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 906, 912.

⁴ *Keith's Catalogue*, pp. 83, 84. *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 156. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 155, 180. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 577, 623, 939. *Foedera*, vol. ii. part. ii. p. 1189. Malcolm is styled "de Inchaffray" in the *Foedera*.

John, Bishop of Murray, died at his castle of Spynie on St. Michael's eve, 1362. His successor was Alexander Bur, archdeacon of the diocese, who was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Urban V., on Saturday in the Ember-week of the following Advent.¹

Alexander, Bishop of Aberdeen, died on the fourteenth of August, 1340, and was succeeded by William de Deyn, who died on the twentieth of August, 1350. Bishop William's successor was John Rait, whose decease took place in 1355. The next bishop was Alexander de Kyninmund, the second of that name.²

John, Bishop of Ross, was succeeded by Roger, whom we find holding the see in 1341. The next bishop was Alexander, whose appointment had taken place at the latest in the year 1357.³

Ferquhard, Bishop of Caithness, appears to have been succeeded by a bishop named Nicholas, who is styled elect in 1332, being then only a sub-deacon. The next bishop was David; and after him Alan, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who was elected in 1341. Alan's immediate successor was probably Thomas de Fingask. Thomas was bishop in the year 1348, and died in 1360. The next bishop was Malcolm.⁴

Adam, Bishop of Brechin, was succeeded by Philip, dean of the cathedral church, in 1350. Before the end of the following year, Philip was succeeded by Patrick de Leuchars, canon of St. Andrews, who was consecrated at Avignon, by Bertrand, Bishop of Sabina.⁵

Maurice, Bishop of Dunblane, was succeeded at the latest in the year 1354 by William. The next bishop was Walter, whom we find holding the see in 1368.⁶

¹ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. pp. 360, 368.

² Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon. vol. ii. p. 248.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 154, 155.

⁴ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. p. 368. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 155, 185. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 721. Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 52. MS. Collection in the British Museum of Transcripts of Documents in the Vatican, quoted by Mr. Joseph Robertson, in a paper containing some inedited notices of John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in the winter of 1855-56.

⁵ Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. ii. pp. 393, 394.

⁶ Regist. de Dunfermline, pp. 265, 266. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 171. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 939.

Andrew, Bishop of Argyll, was succeeded by a friar named Martin of Argyll, who was bishop-elect in 1342. Martin is mentioned as still holding the see in the year 1362.¹

Henry, Bishop of Galloway, must have died between February, 1334, and November, 1335, at which latter date we find Simon holding the see. Simon was still bishop in 1345. His successor was Michael, who was bishop in January, 1358, as appears from a safe conduct granted to him by King Edward III., to enable him to transact some ecclesiastical business with his metropolitan the Archbishop of York. The next bishop was Thomas, who held the see in September, 1362. He was succeeded by Adam de Lanark, who was bishop in the years 1364, 1365, and 1366.²

Bernard, Bishop of Man, after an episcopate of four years, was succeeded by Thomas, a native of Scotland, who held the see till his death on the twentieth of September, 1348. The next bishop was William Russel, a native of the Isle, and Abbot of Rushin, who was elected by the clergy in the cathedral church of St. German, and consecrated at Avignon by Pope Clement VI. The Chronicle of Man mentions that William was the first bishop of the diocese who was not consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim. This statement is not strictly accurate, but it probably marks a change of jurisdiction which then took place. Soon after the appointment of Bishop Thomas, the Isle of Man had been conquered by Edward III., and, as its civil connection with Scotland was thus at an end, so it is likely that the consecration of William by the Pope was intended to interrupt the ecclesiastical relations which existed with Norway. There is no evidence, however, that the union between the different portions of the diocese was yet broken. William appears to have governed all the Western Islands as well as Man. In the year 1350, he held a synod of his clergy, at which several canons were enacted.³

¹ *Regist. de Passelet*, p. 145. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 623. *Foedera*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 1189.

² *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 271. *Charters of Holyrood*, pp. 95, 96. *Regist. Magni Sigilli*, p. 57. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 385, 818, 881. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139. *Foedera*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 876.

³ *Chronicon Manniæ*, p. 46. *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 10-12.

William, Bishop of Orkney, appears to have been succeeded by another prelate of the same name.¹

David II. died childless, and Robert, son of Walter the Steward of Scotland and Marjory eldest daughter of Robert Bruce, succeeded to the throne. Robert II. was fifty-four years old at the time of his accession. In his youth and manhood he had shewn himself a brave and able soldier, and his talents for government had been proved while he discharged the office of regent during the captivity of his predecessor. He was crowned at Scone by the Bishop of St. Andrews, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1371. The reign of Robert II. was prosperous in comparison with that of David. The war seldom ceased on the border, but the English no longer seriously thought of subjugating the kingdom. In the battles which took place, one of which was the chivalrous fight of Otterburn, the Scots had for the most part the advantage. King Robert died on the nineteenth day of April, 1390, and was buried at Scone.

Robert II. was succeeded by his eldest son, John, Earl of Carrick, who was crowned at Scone by the Bishop of St. Andrews, on the fourteenth of August, 1390. The Christian name of the king was associated with that of the unfortunate Baliol. It was, therefore, changed at his coronation, and he was acknowledged as King of the Scots by the title of Robert III. The second prince of the house of Stewart was generous, mild, and upright. So far he resembled his father; but he was also religious and chaste, and in him, and in his consort, Annabella Drummond, the Scots beheld an example of domestic virtue such as had not graced the throne since the time of David and Matilda. Neither was Robert deficient in courage or ability; but he had been rendered lame by an accident in his youth, and was unable to display that personal vigour which was necessary to restrain his turbulent subjects. The old nobility had for the most part perished, or been disinherited during the wars of the succession, and those who came in their place, from the first inferior in refinement to the great Norman houses which surrounded the thrones of the Alexanders, had become more fierce and uncultivated during the long years of civil commotion. The reign of Robert III.

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 221. Barry's History of the Orkney Islands, p. 192.

was thus less beneficial to his kingdom than otherwise might have been expected. Free in a great measure from foreign invasion, the country suffered from the internal feuds of the barons, and from the ravages of the Highland clans, which had now come to regard the inhabitants of the Lowlands as their natural enemies.

From his infirmities, the king was under the necessity of devolving most of the royal functions on his brother Robert, Duke of Albany. Unfortunately for Scotland, Albany was ambitious and without principle. For his own ends he made no attempt to check the excesses of the nobility, and he caused the king's eldest son David, Duke of Rothsay, to be imprisoned and put to death. Robert, alarmed for the safety of his only surviving son James, sent him to France, to be brought up at the court of that kingdom. The ship in which he sailed was taken by an English cruiser, and, though there was a truce at that time between England and Scotland, King Henry refused to restore the young prince to his father. The calamities of his family and people had already broken down the strength of the King of the Scots, and he died within a year after this last affliction. His decease took place at Rothsay, on the fourth day of April, 1406, being Palm Sunday, and he was buried before the high altar of the church of the Cluniac monastery at Paisley, which his paternal ancestors had founded. Robert III., at the time of his death, was about seventy years of age.

On the twenty-first of February, 1401, the estates of the kingdom, assembled at Scone, passed an act regarding appeals against sentences of excommunication. It was declared that persons aggrieved might appeal from the Ordinary to the Conservator, and from the Conservator to the Provincial Council, so long as the schism in the Church lasted. The act expressly bears that this was agreed to by the clergy, and hence it has been reasonably supposed that a provincial synod was sitting at the same time.¹ The schism referred to was the great

¹ "Propterea si aliquis regis legius se excommunicatum per injustum processum senserit, ante exitum quadraginta dierum a iudice suo appellet ad cleri Conservatorem, qui dictum processum cum suo concilio tenebitur declarare et injustum reformare. Et si videatur sibi quod dictus Conservator rectum iudicium non faciat, appellet ab eo ad generalem cleri congregationem, ubi talia de caetero, quamdiu schisma in ecclesia existit, ordinantur discuti et determinari. Cui

division in the Western Church caused by the disputed elections to the see of Rome, during which Scotland adhered to the antipopes.

William, Bishop of St. Andrews, died on the twenty-third day of September, 1385, after an episcopate of forty-four years. Stephen de Pay, Prior of St. Andrews, was chosen bishop, but was taken by an English vessel while on his way to the papal court, and died at Alnwick, on the second of March, 1386.¹

The next bishop was Walter Trail, at that time referendary to Pope Clement VII., by whose provision he was appointed to the see. Bishop Trail was distinguished for his virtues and his ability. He was one of the chief counsellors of Robert III., and, as long as he lived, the evils, which the ambition of Albany brought on the kingdom, were averted. Like the other Scottish bishops he acknowledged the Antipope at Avignon, and, on this account, Pope Boniface IX. bestowed the see of St. Andrews on Fitz-Alan, Archbishop of Canterbury, during his exile from England. This appointment was, of course, disregarded by the Scots, as a similar one had been some years before in favour of Nevil, Archbishop of York. Bishop Trail died in the year 1401.²

On the death of Bishop Trail, Thomas Stewart, an illegitimate son of Robert II., and at that time Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was elected by the prior and canons, but declined to accept. Walter of Danielston, parson of Kincardine O'Neil, was then chosen by the influence of Albany, and for political reasons, although he was entirely unfit for his high office. He died within six months after his election. Gilbert Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen, was next postulated by the chapter, but, notwithstanding of this, Henry Wardlaw, Precentor of Glasgow, and nephew to the cardinal bishop of that diocese, was promoted to the see of St. Andrews by Pope Benedict XIII., and returned from Avignon in 1404. Prince James was for some time entrusted to the charge of Bishop Wardlaw. The banished Earl of Northumberland

ordinationi consensit clerus durante schismate, sicut caeteri regis legii." Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 214. See also Hailes, vol. iii. p. 223.

¹ Scotichronicon, lib. vi. co. 46. 53. Winton, vol. ii. pp. 326, 327.

² Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. 46. Winton, vol. ii. pp. 327, 393.

was at this time in Scotland, and young Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, was also under the bishop's care, and educated at the castle of St. Andrews along with the heir to the Scottish throne.¹

Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, was made a cardinal by Pope Clement VII. in 1385. He was the first Scottish ecclesiastic who was raised to that dignity. He was also named legate a latere for Scotland and Ireland. It was probably on his death in 1387, that John Framysden, a Franciscan friar, was appointed to the see by Pope Urban VI., but the Scots, who acknowledged the Antipope, refused to recognize his right, and Matthew de Glendoning, a canon of the cathedral, was chosen bishop.²

John, Bishop of Dunkeld, was succeeded by Michael, who was bishop in 1373, and died in 1376. John Peebles, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and chancellor of Scotland, was the next bishop, and held the see till his death, which took place in 1396. His successor was Robert de Cardney.³

Alexander, Bishop of Murray, died on the fifteenth of May, 1397. During his episcopate, and soon after the accession of Robert III., that sovereign's brother, Alexander, Earl of Buchan, generally known by the name of the Wolf of Badenoch, burned the town and cathedral of Elgin, on account of a quarrel which he had with the bishop. The bishop wrote to the king, demanding redress for an outrage which had desolated the noblest ecclesiastical building in the North, "the chief boast of the land, and glory of the kingdom."⁴ The earl was excommunicated, and, weak as the law was at that time, he was compelled to make satisfaction before he could be released from the sentence.⁵

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 47; lib. xv. c. 18. *Winton*, vol. ii. p. 394-400.

² *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 293, and preface pp. xxxix. xl. *Scotichronicon*, lib. xiv. cc. 49, 50. *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. i. p. 95.

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 185, 200. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 29. *Regist. Magni Sigilli*, pp. 142, 150, 235. *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 84-86. *Mylne, Vitæ Episcop. Dunkelden.* pp. 15, 16.

⁴ — "Pro remedio reedificationis ecclesiæ meæ, quæ fuit speciale patriæ decus, regni gloria, et delectatio extraneorum et supervenientium hospitum, laus et exaltatio laudis in regnis extraneis, in multitudine servientium et ornatu pulcherrimo, et in qua, ut creditur, Deus recte colebatur." *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* p. 204.

⁵ *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.* pp. 360, 381, 382.

Bishop Alexander's successor was William de Spynie, who was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Benedict XIII., on the sixteenth of September, 1397, and died on the second of August, 1406.¹

The decease of Alexander, Bishop of Aberdeen, took place on the twenty-ninth of July, 1380. He was succeeded by Adam de Tynningham, dean of the cathedral church, who died on the eighteenth of September, 1389. Gilbert de Greenlaw, a canon of the cathedral church, was the next bishop. He held for many years the office of chancellor of the kingdom.²

During the episcopates of Alexander, Adam, and Gilbert, John Barbour was Archdeacon of Aberdeen. He is the earliest writer in the English language, born in Northern Britain, whose works have come down to us; and no one need wish that the literary history of his country should begin with a nobler name than that of the author of "The Bruce."

Alexander was Bishop of Ross in 1373 and in 1389. Two prelates of the same name probably ruled this diocese in succession, since we find that Alexander was Bishop of Ross in March, 1416.³

Malcolm, Bishop of Caithness, was succeeded by Alexander, whom we find holding the see in 1389 and in 1416.⁴

Patrick was Bishop of Brechin in 1378. The next bishop was Stephen, whom we find holding the see in 1385. He was succeeded by Walter Forester, who was consecrated in 1410 or 1411.⁵

Walter, Bishop of Dunblane, was succeeded by Andrew, who held the see in the year 1373. The next bishop was Dougal; and he appears to have been succeeded by Finlay, who was bishop in 1406.⁶

I have found no notice of any bishop of Argyll between

¹ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. p. 360.

² Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon. vol. ii. p. 248, and preface, p. xxxii.-xxxv.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 185, 226. Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. p. 200.

⁴ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. p. 200. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 226.

⁵ Regist. Magni Sigilli, pp. 149, 236. Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. i. p. 21-23; vol. ii. p. 273.

⁶ Regist. Magni Sigilli, p. 227. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 185. Keith's Catalogue, p. 176. Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 317.

Martin and the Dominican friar, Finlay, who fled to Ireland in 1425, along with James, son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany.¹

It can hardly have been by accident that the diocese of Argyll was governed for so many years by a series of bishops taken from the Mendicant orders, but I am unable to explain the reason.

Adam, Bishop of Galloway, was succeeded by Oswald. In the year 1379, Oswald had a safe conduct from Richard, King of England, in connection with some ecclesiastical matters which had been entrusted to him by Pope Urban VI.; and this seems to imply that the see of Candida Casa was still a suffragan of York, and that the bishop, as a prelate of the English Church, acknowledged Pope Urban, not Pope Clement. Oswald was still bishop in the year 1388. His successor was probably Thomas, who was bishop in 1416.²

William, Bishop of Man, died on the twenty-first of April, 1374. His successor was John Duncan, also a native of the Isle, who was elected by the clergy in the cathedral church of St. German, on the thirty-first of May, and consecrated at Avignon on the twenty-fifth of November, 1374. Bishop John is said to have died in the year 1380. It has been supposed that on his decease the diocese was divided, and that Robert Waldby, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, became the English Bishop of Man, and another John, the Scottish Bishop of the Isles. I have not been able to ascertain the exact truth of this statement; but it would rather appear that Robert was nominated Bishop of Man, that on his translation to the metropolitan see of Leinster John was appointed his successor, and that the Island diocese was still united. It increases the improbability of a separate see at this time, that the Lords of the Isles, who ruled over what is called the Scottish part of

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 287.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 226. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. pp. 14, 93. Keith mentions (*Historical Catalogue*, p. 274) that he had seen a charter granted by Eliseus, Bishop of Candida Casa, wherein the granter calls 1412 the seventh year of his consecration, and who therefore must have succeeded about the year 1405. A bishop of this name does not appear in any of the records which have fallen under my observation, but the fact stated by Keith is no way inconsistent with the dates mentioned in the text, and the authorities on which they are founded.

the diocese, were in close alliance with the English sovereigns, by whom they were supported in their attempts to throw off the supremacy of the kings of Scotland.¹

William, Bishop of Orkney, was murdered in 1383, but no record of the circumstances has been preserved. He appears to have been succeeded by Henry.²

¹ *Chronicon Manniæ*, pp. 46, 47. Keith's Catalogue, p. 204. In 1388, John is styled "*Episcopus Sodorensis*," by Richard, King of England (*Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 94). The abrupt termination of the Chronicle of Man, in the year 1376, deprives us after that date of the best authority for the succession to the see.

² *Torfæus*, pp. 177, 178.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING ROBERT III. IN 1406, TO THE DEATH OF
KING JAMES I. IN 1437.

Accession of James I.—His return to Scotland—His civil and ecclesiastical Reforms—His Death—Provincial Councils of the reign of James—The Lollards in Scotland—Death of James Resby—Death of Paul Crawar—Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews—Foundation of the University of St. Andrews—Succession of Bishops.

THE young king, James I., was a prisoner in England, and the government continued to be carried on by the Duke of Albany as regent. The most remarkable political event, during Albany's administration, was the rebellion of Donald, Lord of the Isles, which threatened for a time to restore the supremacy of the Celtic race throughout the north of Scotland. The Highland army was broken at the battle of Harlaw by the regent's nephew, the Earl of Mar, and the insurrection was afterwards suppressed by Albany himself. The regent died in 1419, and was succeeded in his office by his son Murdoch. The second Duke of Albany had little of his father's ambition, but he also wanted his vigour and ability. In his mild and gentle character he resembled Robert III., and the disorders of the kingdom continued to increase. Unable by other means to repress the universal lawlessness which prevailed, and wishing, it may be hoped, to atone for the wrongs which his house had committed, the regent procured the release of his sovereign from his long captivity.

James returned to Scotland in 1424, being then in the thirty-second year of his age. His education had been carefully attended to in England, and, when he assumed the government of his kingdom, he was fitted in every respect for the discharge of the high and difficult task to which he had been called. After keeping the Easter festival at Edinburgh, he proceeded northwards with his queen, Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and was crowned at Scone, on the

twenty-first of May. The Duke of Albany, as Earl of Fife, placed James on the royal chair, and Henry, Bishop of St. Andrews, the faithful guardian of his youth, put the crown on his head and anointed him.

King James soon discovered the miserable condition of his subjects, and it became the object of his life to afford the necessary relief. He repressed and punished the tyranny of the nobles, carrying, perhaps, his stern principles of justice too far when he brought Duke Murdoch to the block. He compelled Alexander, Lord of the Isles, to submit to his mercy, and established the royal authority and the supremacy of the law throughout the Highlands. Agriculture and commerce again began to revive, and Scotland, after long years of wretchedness, recovered some share of the prosperity which it had enjoyed before the death of Alexander III. The king was equally zealous in his endeavours to reform the corruptions of the Church. He rebuked with prudent firmness the clergy who were negligent in the performance of their duties, and encouraged the devout and well-disposed. He strove, in particular, to restore the monastic discipline to its primitive strictness, exhorting the Benedictine and Augustinian orders to shew themselves worthy of the munificent endowments which they had received from his ancestors, and calling upon them for that purpose to be careful to meet frequently in their general chapters.¹

The reforms of James, and his rigorous execution of the laws against offenders of every class, led to a feeling of deep hostility towards him on the part of some of his subjects. A conspiracy was formed, which had for its object the dethronement and death of the king, and the substitution in his place of Walter, Earl of Atholl, son of Robert II. In the year 1436, James kept the Christmas festival at Perth, and continued for some time to reside in the monastery of the Black Friars in that city. On the night of the twentieth of February, the conspirators obtained admission into the royal apartments, and the king was murdered. He was buried in the church of the Carthusian monastery at Perth, which he himself had founded.

¹ The ecclesiastical policy of James is described by Bower, in the *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. cc. 31, 32.

The excessive severity with which he punished the family of Albany was the only stain on the noble character of James. His love for literature was a taste which he inherited from some of the greatest of his predecessors, and which he seems to have bequeathed to his descendants of the royal house. But his own accomplishments in that respect went beyond those of any other of our sovereigns. His foundation of the Carthusian monastery at Perth took place in the year 1429. It was called also *Monasterium Vallis Virtutis*, and was the first and only house of the order in Scotland. James is said to have invited to his kingdom the Franciscans of the Observantine reform, recently established by Bernardine of Sienna.¹

In October, 1418, a meeting of the three estates of the kingdom was held at Perth by the regent, Robert, Duke of Albany. A very important ecclesiastical question was discussed on that occasion—whether it was advisable for the Scottish Church to continue as before to obey Pope Benedict XIII. The Abbot of Pontigny, an envoy from the Council of Constance, addressed the estates on the duty of submitting to the decrees of that synod, and acknowledging Martin V., as Pope. A Franciscan friar, named Harding, supported by the personal favour of the regent, maintained the cause of Benedict, while the opposite opinion was defended by John Fogo, afterwards Abbot of Melrose, and received the sanction of the new University of St. Andrews. It was finally agreed that Scotland should withdraw its support from Benedict, and acknowledge Martin as Pope.²

On the sixteenth day of July, 1420, a provincial council met in the church of the Black Friars at Perth, and William, Bishop of Dunblane, was elected Conservator. The only part of their proceedings which is recorded relates to certain

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 18. Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, pp. 429, 430, 450. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 65.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. cc. 24, 25. There is some obscurity in Bower, as to the date of this meeting of the estates, but it cannot have been earlier than 1418, as Pope Martin was only elected in November, 1417. John Fogo was present at the Council of Basil (Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 237). He may probably be identified with "John, called the Greek, the abbot of an obscure Cistercian convent in Scotland," referred to by Dean Milman (*History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi. p. 300), as one of three persons chosen to name the electoral college for the election of a Pope.

rules which were established in regard to the confirmation of testaments.¹

It appears from an act of the parliament held at Perth, on the eleventh of July, 1427, that a provincial council was then sitting.²

The Bishop of Urbino was sent as legate to Scotland by Pope Eugenius IV., and arrived a little before Christmas, 1436. He was present at a provincial council begun at Perth on the fourth of the following February, but all farther proceedings were stopped by the king's death.³

Immediately after the decease of Robert III., we hear, for the first time, of the introduction into Scotland of religious opinions different from those taught by the Church. For the first time also, so far as appears, it was then attempted to enforce unity of doctrine by the infliction of capital punishment. It is probable that the followers of Wickliffe had propagated their opinions in Scotland for some years before attention was drawn to their proceedings. An ecclesiastical movement of so important a character was not likely to be long confined within the limits of the southern kingdom, and some preachers of the new doctrines perhaps accompanied their patron, the Duke of Lancaster, when he came to Scotland during the peasants' insurrection. The first occasion, however, on which our writers mention these opinions, is in connection with the proceedings against James Resby, an English priest, and a disciple of Wickliffe. His eloquent preaching appears to have attracted great attention, and Bower informs us that he maintained forty erroneous conclusions in his sermons and writings, of which he specifies two—that the Pope was not the vicar of Christ, and that no one could be Pope, or vicar of Christ, unless he was personally holy. It is probable that some civil enactment against heresy had received the sanction of the Scottish estates similar to that which had recently been established in England. A council of the clergy met under the presidency of a theologian, named Laurence of Lindores, who held the office of inquisitor of heretical pravity.

¹ *Regist. Episcopat. Brechin.* vol. i. p. 38-40. *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. iii. pp. 397, 398. *Innes's Critical Essay*, p. 594. *Hailes*, vol. iii. p. 223-225.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 14. *Hailes*, vol. iii. p. 225.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 26.

Resby was condemned by the synod, and was burned at Perth. This took place either in 1406, or 1407. The writings of Resby continued to be carefully preserved by the Lollards in Scotland to the time when Bower wrote. We learn also from that chronicler's remarks, that besides rejecting the authority of the Pope the new sect denied the sacrament of penance, and auricular confession.¹

This is all which we know with certainty of the opinions and history of Resby and his followers; but we can hardly be mistaken in supposing that his teaching was similar to that of Wickliffe. We may hope that no other person was burned in Scotland on account of religion during Albany's regency, since our writers are silent as to any such event. But as the Duke is spoken of as a hater of Lollards and heretics,² it is probable that punishments, short of death, were inflicted on some of them. As usual, these measures did not answer the end which they were intended to promote. The opinions of the Lollards continued to be extensively taught and propagated. This appears from the attempts made to suppress them. At a congregation of the University of St. Andrews, held in the year 1416, all masters of arts were enjoined to take an oath to defend the Church against the Lollards and their abettors; and a special act against the Lollards received the sanction of the Scottish parliament, on the twelfth of March, 1425, immediately after the return of James from his captivity.³

The next preacher of the new opinions, whom we hear of by name, was Paul Cwarar, a German, who came from Bohemia with letters recommending his skill in the medical art, but sent in reality to propagate the doctrines of the Hussites. The zeal of the Bohemian community is shewn by their sending one of their preachers from the heart of Germany to a country so remote as Scotland. Cwarar, we are told, was well-skilled in the Sacred Scriptures, and ready to use them in support of his tenets. He also was convicted at the instigation of Laurence of Lindores, and was burned at

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. c. 20.

² *Winton*, vol. ii. p. 419.

³ *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, ed. 1819, vol. i. p. 415. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 7.

St. Andrews, on the twenty-third of July, 1433.¹ The earlier writers say nothing of the participation of Bishop Wardlaw in the proceedings against Resby and Crawar. But, as the former perished within his diocese, and the latter in his own cathedral city, there can hardly be a doubt that the evil course adopted by the ecclesiastical authorities had received his full sanction.

The same period, which witnessed an event so deplorable as the commencement of persecution on account of religion, saw also the establishment of the first of our universities. Some indeed of those who were most deeply implicated in the cruel proceedings against the Lollards held a distinguished place in the new institution for promoting Christian education.

The great act of Henry Wardlaw's episcopate was the foundation of the University of St. Andrews. Scotland had long felt the want of such an institution. The cathedral and monastic schools had become insufficient for the purposes of the higher education which was now required, and students were obliged to resort to England and France, in order to obtain what their own country was unable to supply. The new university was founded by the bishop, prior, and chapter of St. Andrews, soon after Pentecost, in the year of our Lord, 1410. Bower has preserved the names of those who gave lectures in the several faculties, and among them was the inquisitor, Laurence of Lindores. The lectures continued to be read for some time before any papal confirmation of the institution was obtained. But on the morrow of the Purification, in the year 1414, Henry de Ogilvie, master of arts, arrived from Arragon, with the necessary privileges granted by Pope Benedict. The next day, being Sunday, the bulls were laid before the bishop as chancellor, and read in presence of the assembled clergy. *Te Deum* was then chanted, and, when the religious services were over, the rest of the day was spent in festivity, in which all classes partook. On the following Tuesday, which was the feast of the arrival of the relics of St. Andrew, there was a solemn procession, in which four hundred of the clergy joined, besides those in the minor

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 20. On the subject of the Lollards in Scotland, see appendix ii. to the first volume of Mr. David Laing's edition of *Knox's Works*.

orders, and the novices. High mass was celebrated by the prior; and the Bishop of Ross preached to the clergy.¹ Some time elapsed before any college was erected, and, in the interval, the lecturers and students were accommodated in various buildings within the city, the more solemn meetings of the university being probably held in the Augustinian monastery.

Matthew, Bishop of Glasgow, died on the tenth of May, 1408. His successor was William Lauder, Archdeacon of Lothian, whose decease took place on the fourteenth of June, 1425. The next bishop was John Cameron, Provost of Lincluden, and secretary to the king, who was bishop-elect in July, 1426. Both he and his predecessor held the office of chancellor of Scotland.²

Robert de Cardney, Bishop of Dunkeld, died on the sixteenth of January, 1437, and his nephew, Donald Macnaughton, dean of the cathedral church, was chosen in his place by the chapter. The election was opposed by King James, and the bishop-elect died on his way to Rome. The next bishop was James Kennedy, sister's son to the king.³

William de Spynie was succeeded as Bishop of Murray by John de Innes, Archdeacon of Caithness, who was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Benedict XIII., on the twenty-third of January, 1407. Bishop John died on the twenty-fifth of April, 1414. The next bishop was Henry de Lichten, one of the canons of the cathedral, who was consecrated at Valentia by Benedict XIII., on the eighth of March, 1415, being the third bishop of Murray who was consecrated in succession by that Pope. He was translated to Aberdeen, probably in the year 1423, and was succeeded by Columba de Dunbar, dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar, who held the see till his death in 1435. The next bishop was John Winchester, Provost of Lincluden, who was confirmed by the Pope in 1436,

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. c. 22. See the bulls of Pope Benedict, and the charter of Bishop Wardlaw, in the Evidence taken by the Royal Commissioners for visiting the Universities of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 171-176, and in Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. ii. p. 223-228. See also a narrative of the proceedings in Tytler, vol. iii. p. 155-157. There are some slight inaccuracies in that historian's account.

² *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen*. pp. 615, 616, and preface, pp. xl. xlv. xlvii. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 621, 622. Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. p. 382.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 26. Mylne, *Vitæ Episcop. Dunkeldon*. pp. 17, 18.

and consecrated at Cambuskenneth, on the ninth of May, 1437, being the feast of the Ascension.¹

Gilbert Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen, died on the twentieth of September, 1422, and was succeeded by Henry de Lichton, Bishop of Murray.²

Alexander, Bishop of Ross, was succeeded by John, who was bishop-elect and confirmed in 1420, and whom we find holding the see in 1439.³

Alexander was still Bishop of Caithness in 1421. He was succeeded by Robert, whom we find holding the see in 1434. Robert's successor was William, who was bishop in the year 1449.⁴

Walter Forester, Bishop of Brechin, was succeeded between the years 1424 and 1429 by John Crennach, who, in 1435, accompanied the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of James I., when she went to France to be espoused to Lewis, the Dauphin.⁵

Finlay, Bishop of Dunblane, died in the year 1419, and was succeeded by William Stephen, one of the learned men who read lectures at the commencement of the University of St. Andrews. In 1420, Bishop William presided, as Conservator, at the Council of Perth. Between 1425 and 1430, he was succeeded by Michael Ochiltree.⁶

In the year 1425, Finlay, Bishop of Argyll, accompanied James Stewart, son of Murdoch Duke of Albany, in his flight to Ireland. At the request of the king, Pope Martin V.

¹ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. pp. 217, 360, and preface, p. xiv. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 142, 143. Between Henry de Lichton and Columba de Dunbar, Keith and the editor of the Chartulary of Murray insert a bishop David; but this appears to be inconsistent with the account of the bishops preserved in the Chartulary, and I have not found the name elsewhere.

² Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon. vol. ii. pp. 218, 248, and preface, p. xxxvi-xxxviii.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 55. Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. i. p. 39. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 189, 567.

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61. Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. i. p. 39. Book of the Thanes of Cawdor, p. 8. Torfæus, p. 183. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 214, 567.

⁵ Scotichronicon, lib. xvi. c. 12. Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. i. p. 41. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 248, 265. Keith's Catalogue, p. 163.

⁶ Scotichronicon, lib. xv. cc. 22, 31. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 253, 269. Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. i. p. 38. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 176, 177.

granted a commission to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunblane to enquire into the rebellious proceedings of Bishop Finlay and his desertion of the diocese. Nothing farther is mentioned as to those proceedings, and the bishop himself died soon afterwards. His successor was George Lauder, master of St. Leonard's Hospital, near Peebles.¹

Thomas was still Bishop of Galloway in 1420. Between that date and 1426, as it would appear, he was succeeded by Alexander.²

John, Bishop of the Isles, is said to have been succeeded by Michael, and Michael by Angus.³ The independence which the Lords of the Isles, with the support of England, had previously been able to maintain, was put an end to by James I., and we find the Bishop of the Isles sitting in the Scottish parliament in the year 1430.⁴ About the same time there is a long vacancy in the lists of the English bishops of Man, and it is probable that this is the true date of the division of the diocese. Man had been under English rule for nearly a century; the Hebrides were subjected, in reality as well as in name, to the Scottish crown; and the appointment of two bishops, to govern the two portions of the ancient diocese, became in consequence a natural, and almost a necessary measure.

The English bishops in Man were suffragans of Canterbury until they were annexed to the province of York in the reign of Henry VIII., and the church of St. German continued to be their cathedral. The Northern diocese of the Isles was united, ecclesiastically as well as civilly, to Scotland. We are not informed where its bishops established their see. For a time they seem to have had no fixed residence, but they afterwards found a home at Iona. That island was not within their episcopal jurisdiction. Down to the reign of James I., probably to a later period, its abbots yielded obedience to the old primatial Church of Columba on the Tay;⁵ but there is reason

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 10. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 287, 288. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 544-547.

² *Rotuli Scotie*, vol. ii. p. 266. *Regist. Episcopat. Brechin.* vol. i. p. 39. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 275, 567.

³ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 304, 305.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 2.

⁵ "Apud hunc pontificem [Willelmum de Sancto Claro] tunc Tybermure comorantem, venit dominus Finlains, monachus de Y Callumkill monasterio in

to believe that they allowed their conventual church to be used as the cathedral of the bishops of the Isles, and this arrangement became a permanent one, when, in the reign of James IV., the abbacy of Iona and the episcopate of the Isles were united, and appointed to be held in future by the same individual.

Henry, Bishop of Orkney, appears to have been succeeded by John. The name of the next bishop is doubtful, but, after him, Thomas de Tulloch, who is frequently mentioned in the records of the time, was Bishop of Orkney. In 1422, and again in 1427, Bishop Thomas was entrusted by Eric, King of Denmark, with the government of the Orkneys.¹

abbatem electus, pro confirmatione ordinaria." Mylne, *Vitæ Episcop. Dunkelden*. p. 13. "*Eodem etiam anno [1431] abbas de Iona insula—i.e. Icolm-kil—fecit obedientiam manualet domino Roberto de Cardeny, episcopo Dunkel-densi, tanquam diocesano ordinario.*" *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 17.

¹ Torfæus, pp. 178, 182. Keith's Catalogue, p. 221. In a deed by the Lawman of Orkney and others, dated the 10th of November, 1422 (*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. pp. 257, 258), reference is made to Patrick, Bishop of Orkney, lately deceased. The writ, however, is imperfect, and "*Pâtri*" would seem to be a more correct reading than "*Patricio*." In the preface to the same volume, it is stated that "it appears from various documents that there was a Bishop John in 1397."

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING JAMES I. IN 1437, TO THE ERECTION OF THE
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST. ANDREWS, IN 1472.

Accession of James II.—His death—Accession of James III.—His marriage with Margaret of Denmark—Mortgage of Orkney to Scotland—Provincial Councils of the reigns of James II. and James III.—James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews—Foundation of the College of St. Salvator—Patrick Graham, Bishop of St. Andrews—Erection of St. Andrews into an Archbishopric—Succession of Bishops—William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow—Foundation of the University of Glasgow.

JAMES, the only surviving son of James I., was in his seventh year when his father was murdered. Scone, from its neighbourhood to the Highlands, was probably thought unsafe even for a temporary residence, and the prince was therefore crowned at Holyrood, on the Lady-day after his accession.

The early years of the new reign were disturbed by the commotions which usually attended the minority of a feudal sovereign. As James II. grew up to manhood, he shewed himself well qualified for the rule of his turbulent kingdom. The chief obstacle to the firm establishment of the royal authority was the formidable power of the house of Douglas. The rebellious proceedings of that family called for severe punishment, but nothing could justify the manner in which the punishment was inflicted.

After the banishment of the last Earl of Douglas, the reign of James was undisturbed by serious opposition. His firm government was eminently beneficial to his subjects, and his sudden death was universally regretted. He was killed in August, 1460, by the bursting of a cannon, while he was engaged in besieging Roxburgh Castle, and was buried at Holyrood.

During the reign of James II., religion, we are informed, was in a flourishing state in Scotland. The bishops were wise

and prudent—the most eminent of them being Kennedy, Turnbull, Lichon, and Spence—and the heads of the monastic houses were distinguished for their piety and hospitality. There were also several doctors, famous for their theological knowledge, and their acquaintance with the liberal sciences.¹ The substantial accuracy of this statement may probably be relied on.

On the death of their sovereign, the nobles sent for the queen, Mary of Gueldres, and the young prince, James, eldest son of the late king, then eight years of age. Roxburgh Castle was taken on their arrival in the camp, and James was conducted to the abbey of Kelso, where his coronation was celebrated, on the feast of St. Lawrence, within a few days after his father's decease. During the early years of the reign of James III., the government was ably conducted by the queen-mother, and by Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews. After their decease, the kingdom was distracted by struggles for pre-eminence among the various factions of the nobility. In the year 1468, an important treaty was concluded at Copenhagen, between the ambassadors of James, and Christian I., King of Denmark and Norway. It was agreed that the King of the Scots should marry Margaret, the daughter of Christian, and that the sovereignty of the Orkney islands should be mortgaged to Scotland in security of part of the dowry. By an additional treaty in the following year, Zetland was included in the same arrangement.² Margaret was distinguished for her virtues and accomplishments, and the marriage was as happy for James, as it was advantageous for his kingdom. Within a few years, the diocese of Orkney was formally annexed to the Scottish Church.

In November, 1438, and again in February, 1440, there were papal nuncios on their way to Scotland. We are not informed on what business they were sent.³

¹ Leslie, p. 298.

² Torfæus, p. 188. See the original treaty, *ibid.* p. 191-197.

³ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. pp. 311, 316. See also Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 9, 35. Mr. Tytler conjectures that these missions were for the purpose of securing the co-operation of the Scottish court against the Hussites, but there is no evidence of this. He refers, in connection with this point, to the entries in the *Rotuli* which mention that "Sir Andrew Meldrum, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, was despatched through England into Scotland, on a mission con-

Reference is made in the Chartulary of Dunfermline to a general council held at Perth, in 1450, and Hailes is doubtful whether a provincial synod or a meeting of the estates is meant. An examination of the parliamentary records of that year will shew that the council was a meeting of the three estates of the kingdom.¹

In the year 1457, a provincial council was held at Perth, at which an acknowledgment was made of the king's right of presentation to all benefices in ecclesiastical patronage during the vacancy of the see, and until the new bishop should be put in possession of the temporalities; and this was confirmed by another provincial council, which met at Perth, in July, 1459, under the presidency of Thomas, Bishop of Aberdeen, as Conservator.²

A provincial council met at Perth, on the feast of St. Kenelm the Martyr, 1465, Robert, Bishop of Dunblane, being Conservator. The record seems to imply that the ancient rule requiring an annual meeting of the synod had been observed in the Scottish Church.³

During the fifteenth century, the new ecclesiastical foundations, in addition to the universities, consisted almost exclusively of collegiate churches and Observantine monasteries.

Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, died on the sixth of April, 1440, after an episcopate of thirty-six years, and was buried within the choir of the cathedral.⁴

On the twenty-second of the same month in which Bishop Wardlaw died, James Kennedy, Bishop of Dunkeld, son of Mary daughter of Robert III. by her second husband Sir James Kennedy of Dunnure, was postulated to the see of St.

connected with the 'good of religion.' He has mistaken the sense of the word "religio," which here means the religious order to which the knight belonged.

¹ *Regist. de Dunfermline*, p. 313. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 65. Hailes, vol. iii. p. 226.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 83, 84. Hailes, vol. iii. pp. 226, 227.

³ *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, p. 144. Hailes, vol. iii. p. 227. The original record bears "in festo Sancti Kynnelini martyris." Lord Hailes says, "I know nothing of this St. Kynneline, nor of the day of his festival." If he had examined attentively the record which he quotes, he might have easily identified Kynneline with Kenelm the Martyr, whose festival was observed on the seventeenth of July.

⁴ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 47.

Andrews. At the time of his appointment he was in attendance on Pope Eugenius IV. at Florence, where the general council was then sitting, and he celebrated his first mass, as Bishop of St. Andrews, on Sunday the thirtieth of September, 1442. In 1446, he was again in Italy. Later writers assert that he went thither to assist in healing the divisions of the Church, but contemporary records do not explain the object of his journey.¹

In the years 1456 and 1458, Bishop Kennedy founded the college of St. Salvator within the University of St. Andrews, for the maintenance of thirteen members, consisting of a provost, who was to be a master in theology, a licentiate and a bachelor in theology, four priests, masters of arts, and six poor clerks or scholars. He also provided for the endowment of chaplains in the collegiate church attached to the college. This foundation was confirmed by papal bulls granted by Nicholas V. and Pius II.²

Bishop Kennedy was one of the ablest and most faithful of the ecclesiastics who surrounded the throne of James II. His services during the minority of James III. have already been referred to. He died in the year 1465, and was buried within his own college, where his magnificent monument still remains.³ His merits and his virtues have been proclaimed, even by those who had no love for his sacred office, or for the royal house from which he was descended.⁴

The next bishop of St. Andrews was Patrick Graham,

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 48. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 328. *Crawford's Officers of State*, p. 32. *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 29.

² *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 48. Major, *Historia Majoris Britanniæ*, ed. 1740, p. 328. Appendix to the General Report of the Royal Commission for visiting the Universities of Scotland, pp. 387, 388. Evidence taken by the University Commissioners, vol. iii. p. 269-273. *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 238-241.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi. c. 48. Leslie, p. 302. It is generally stated that Bishop Kennedy died in 1466, and this is supported by the authority of Leslie. But a record in the Arbroath Chartulary (*Registrum Nigrum*, p. 145) shews that the see was vacant in July, 1465.

⁴ "Nec multo post Jacobus Kennedus decessit, mature quidem ille, si ratio ætatis habeatur: verum ejus mors omnibus bonis adeo fuit luctuosa, ut parente publico viderentur orbat. Erant enim in eo viro, præter virtutes antea commemoratas, summa doni frugalitas et continentia, foris splendor et magnificentia." Buchanan, vol. i. p. 226. See also Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Chronicles of Scotland*, ed. 1814, pp. 170, 171.

brother uterine of the late bishop, being a son of the Lady Mary, by her third husband, Lord Graham. He was translated from the see of Brechin, and is styled Bishop of St. Andrews, in December, 1466. He repaired to the papal court to obtain confirmation of his appointment. After his return he procured a bull from Pope Sixtus IV., by which St. Andrews was erected into an archbishopric, and all the other Scottish bishoprics were subjected to it as suffragans.¹ The history of this important event, as well as of Bishop Graham's episcopate generally, is involved in obscurity. Almost all that we know with certainty regarding the erection, for the first time, of a metropolitan Church in Scotland, is the import of the bull by which the change was effected; and it is only recently that this document has been made accessible to us.

The bull of Sixtus IV., by which St. Andrews was erected into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, is dated at Rome, the seventeenth of August, 1472. After the usual preamble, it sets forth that in the famous kingdom of Scotland, while there are many noble cathedral churches, there is no metropolitan see, and that much inconvenience is thereby sustained in the matter of appeals, and otherwise, on account of the distance from Rome; and that the venerable Church of St. Andrews, in the said kingdom, is illustrious above all other Churches there, and worthy to be advanced to the metropolitan dignity. It therefore erects the Church of St. Andrews into the metropolitan and archiepiscopal see of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and subjects to it as suffragan sees, the Churches and dioceses of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Murray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Candida Casa, Argyll, the Isles, and Orkney. It further declares that Patrick, Bishop of St. Andrews, and his successors, shall receive the pall and the cross, as a token of the fullness of their pontifical office and archiepiscopal power, and shall be styled Archbishops of St. Andrews, and be entitled to all the honours, rights, and immunities, pertaining to archbishops and metropolitans, and that their chapter shall have the privileges of a metropolitan chapter in all time coming.

Letters to a similar effect were sent by the Pope to the Bishop

¹ Leslie, p. 303. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 226. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 420. *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, p. 154.

of Glasgow, and the other bishops, the suffragans of the new metropolitan, to all the cathedral chapters, to the clergy and laity of all the Scottish dioceses, and to the King of the Scots.¹

By the bull of Pope Sixtus, not only the proper Scottish dioceses north of the Forth, which had formerly acknowledged the primacy of St. Andrews, and had always admitted some sort of pre-eminence in that see, but also the independent Cumbrian bishopric of Glasgow, the see of Candida Casa, which had for so many ages owned obedience to York, the diocese of the Isles, which, when united to Man, had been subject to Drontheim, and the diocese of Orkney, which ecclesiastically had always been unconnected with Scotland, were made suffragans of the new metropolitan. One Scottish historian seems to imply that some opposition was made to this measure by the Archbishop of York.² If so, the resistance was disregarded. What took place among the Scottish bishops themselves will be related in the next chapter. The only other ecclesiastical authority concerned was the Archbishop of Drontheim, and for some reasons which are not explained, but which were probably connected with the intimate relations then existing between the royal houses of Denmark and Scotland, he seems to have acquiesced in the change. It appears, however, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Olave, Archbishop of Drontheim, intended to assert the ancient rights of his see over Orkney, and for that purpose obtained copies of the bull of Pope Sixtus and other papers already referred to.³ It is not known whether he took farther steps in the matter. Probably the acquiescence for more than fifty years in the arrangement of Pope Sixtus, and the difficulty of regaining jurisdiction over a diocese now forming part of another kingdom, prevented the contemplated proceedings. In any event, the great ecclesiastical revolution

¹ See the bull of Pope Sixtus, and the titles and commencement of the relative documents, in the *Scottish Magazine*, vol. i. pp. 501-508, 563, 564. These valuable papers were copied from transcripts in the Norwegian archives, which were made at Rome in the beginning of the sixteenth century for the use of the Archbishop of Drontheim. The copies were obtained by a correspondent of the *Magazine* at Stockholm, chiefly through the assistance of Professor Munch of Christiania.

² *Buchanan*, vol. i. p. 226.

³ See the *Scottish Magazine*, vol. i. p. 564-568.

which soon followed, and which subverted the canonical episcopate in Norway, and for a time overturned that of Scotland, must have entirely stopped any measures of the kind.

John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, died on Christmas eve, 1446.¹ He was, according to Buchanan, a great oppressor of his vassals; and that historian mentions the popular belief which prevailed regarding his fearful death by the just judgment of God for his wickedness.²

Mylne states in his *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld* that James Bruce, bishop of that see, was translated to Glasgow in 1447. So also Archbishop Spottiswood, Crawford, Keith, Chalmers, and the editor of the *Glasgow Chartulary*, mention that, on Bishop Cameron's decease, Bruce was promoted from the see of Dunkeld to that of Glasgow; and all, except Spottiswood, assert that he died before the formal proceedings connected with his translation were finished. The only authority quoted by any of these writers is the *Scotichronicon*. Bower, however, says nothing of Bruce having been bishop of Glasgow, but leads us to infer the contrary, by relating his appointment to Dunkeld, and then adding that he was chancellor of the kingdom, and that he died at Edinburgh in 1447. Though the writers above named take no notice of Mylne's statement, it is probable that they relied on his authority, while he seems to have confounded Bishop Bruce with his successor Bishop Turnbull.³

The see of Glasgow remained vacant till October, 1447, but, before the end of that year, William Turnbull, Bishop of Dunkeld, was translated to Glasgow.⁴ Bishop Turnbull was a pious and munificent prelate. By his means another Scottish university was founded. A bull of Pope Nicholas V., dated the twenty-sixth day of December, 1450, erected a university at Glasgow, for the study of Theology, the Civil and the Canon Law, the Arts, and other faculties. The doctors, masters, regents, and students, were to enjoy all the

¹ *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 616.

² Buchanan, vol. i. p. 207. See also Pitscottie, pp. 69, 70.

³ See *Vite Episcop. Dunkelden.* p. 20; *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 26; *History of the Church of Scotland*, Spottiswood Society ed. vol. i. p. 224; *Officers of State*, p. 34; *Historical Catalogue*, pp. 250, 251; *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 622; *Preface to the Chartulary of Glasgow*, p. xlviii.

⁴ *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* pp. 366, 367. *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 26.

privileges possessed by those of Bologna, and the bishop and his successors were to be chancellors. King James granted a charter of protection to the university in 1453, and, on the first of December in the same year, the bishop, with consent of his chapter, conferred on the members of the institution privileges similar to those possessed by the University of St. Andrews. In January, 1460, James, Lord Hamilton, conveyed a house in Glasgow, and a portion of land, to the faculty of arts; but even after this grant there were for many years no adequate collegiate buildings, the corporate funds being insufficient for their erection. The members of the university assembled on important occasions, in the monastery of the Black Friars, or in the chapter-house of the cathedral.¹

Bishop Turnbull died on the third of September, 1454. His successor was Andrew Muirhead, who held the see till his death on the twentieth of November, 1473.²

On the translation of Bishop Kennedy to St. Andrews, Alexander Lauder, parson of Ratho, was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, by provision of the Roman see. Bishop Lauder was a prelate of great worth, but died before consecration, on the eleventh of October, 1440. His successor was James Bruce, parson of Kilmany, who was consecrated at Dunfermline on the fourth of February, being Quadragesima Sunday, in the year 1442, and who celebrated his first mass at Dunkeld on the feast of St. Adamnan following. He died, as already mentioned, in 1447. William Turnbull, keeper of the Privy Seal, was next appointed to the see, but, on his translation to Glasgow in the course of the same year, John Raylston, the king's secretary, was promoted to Dunkeld. Bishop Raylston died in the end of the year 1452, and was succeeded by Thomas Lauder, master of Soltra Hospital.³

¹ Leslie, p. 294. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasgucn.* pp. 385-388, 396-399. *Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. i. p. 3-12. Appendix to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Universities of Scotland, p. 213-215. Evidence taken by the University Commissioners, vol. ii. p. 229-231. Preface to the Charters of the Black Friars of Glasgow, pp. li. lii.

² *Regist. Episcopat. Glasgucn.* p. 616.

³ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi. c. 26. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 77. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 347. Keith's Catalogue, p. 89. In the *Rotuli Scotiæ* (vol. ii. p. 330), under the year 1447, there is a safe conduct by the King of England to Thomas de Livingston, Bishop of Dunkeld, who is also

John Winchester, Bishop of Murray, is said to have died on the first of April, 1460. His successor was James Stewart, dean of the cathedral church and treasurer of Scotland, who was bishop in December, 1460, and in April, 1461. The next bishop was David Stewart, whom we find holding the see in October, 1463.¹

Henry de Lichton, Bishop of Aberdeen, died on the twelfth of December, 1440. He was succeeded by Ingelram de Lindsay, prebendary of Methlic, a kinsman of the Earl of Crawford. Bishop Lindsay's election was disputed, but, on his repairing to Rome in person, it was confirmed by Pope Eugenius IV. He died on the twenty-fourth of August, 1458, and, between that date and the following April, Thomas Spence, Bishop of Galloway, was postulated to the see of Aberdeen.²

John, Bishop of Ross, was succeeded by Thomas, whom we find governing the diocese in April, 1441. The next bishop was Henry, who was elect and confirmed in October, 1463.³

It is difficult to trace the succession of the see of Caithness at this time. Prosper is said to have been bishop, and to have resigned the see in favour of John de St. Clair, son of the Earl of Orkney; and it is mentioned that John having neither been confirmed nor consecrated, the see remained vacant for twenty-four years, during which the government was administered by Adam Gordon, dean of the cathedral church, as vicar-general. But no reliance can be placed on these statements. William—either the prelate formerly mentioned, or another of the same name—was bishop in 1477.⁴

styled "Administrator monasterii Sancti Cristofori extra muros Taurinenses." No such bishop is mentioned by Scottish writers. He was probably a titular bishop, residing in Piedmont, and deriving his nominal dignity from the Antipope, Felix, Duke of Savoy.

¹ Regist. Episcopat. Moravien. pp. 255, 256, and preface, pp. xiv. xv. Regist. de Dunfermline, p. 366. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 79. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 144, 145.

² Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, pp. 24, 25. Regist. Episcopat. Aberdeen. vol. ii. pp. 203, 205, 248, and preface, p. xxxviii.-xl. Charters of Holyrood, pp. 147, 148. See also Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. i. p. 148-150.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 57. Regist. de Dunfermline, p. 366.

⁴ Regist. Episcopat. Brechin. vol. i. pp. 200, 201. Gordon's *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 104. Keith's Catalogue, p. 214.

John Crennach, Bishop of Brechin, held the office of Conservator in June, 1445. He was succeeded by George Shoreswood, who was for some time chancellor of the kingdom. George was bishop in July, 1454, and still held the see in March, 1462. His successor, Patrick Graham, was bishop in January, 1464, and was consecrated in that year. On the death of Bishop Kennedy he was, as already mentioned, translated to St. Andrews. The next bishop was John Balfour, who was elect of Brechin in November, 1465.¹

Michael was Bishop of Dunblane in 1440. He was succeeded by Robert, as early at least as April, 1449. Robert was still bishop in July, 1465. The next bishop seems to have been John Hepburn.²

George Lauder was still Bishop of Argyll in the year 1455. As the next bishop, Robert Colquhoun, was consecrated in 1475, it is probable that Bishop Lauder continued to fill the see down to the date of the erection of St. Andrews into an archbishopric.³

Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, was succeeded by Thomas Spence, who is mentioned as holding the see in July, 1451. When Bishop Spence was translated to Aberdeen, Ninian was appointed Bishop of Galloway, and appears under that name in April, 1459.⁴

Angus was Bishop of the Isles in the year 1476. It is not likely that this prelate was the bishop of the same name who is referred to as holding the see in 1427.⁵

Thomas de Tulloch was Bishop of Orkney in November, 1441. In the following year, he was present at the coronation of Christopher of Bavaria as King of Norway. He was still

¹ *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. i. p. 261. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 77, 84. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. pp. 347, 375. *Keith's Catalogue*, pp. 163, 164. *Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen.* vol. i. p. 98; vol. ii. pp. 100, 413. *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 125, 154.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 77. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. p. 263. *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, p. 144. *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 178.

³ *Regist. Episcopat. Glasgauen.* p. 439. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 77. *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 288.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 67. *Charters of Holyrood*, pp. 147, 148. *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 276.

⁵ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 190. *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 305.

bishop in July, 1455. His successor was William de Tulloch, who, in 1462, took the oath of allegiance to Christian I., King of Denmark. Bishop William was one of the ambassadors who concluded the treaty for the marriage of James III. with Margaret of Denmark. Thomas and William both designed themselves Bishops of Orkney and Zetland.¹

¹ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 319. Torfæus, pp. 184, 186, 191. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. pp. 392, 393. Bishop Keith (*Historical Catalogue*, p. 222) interposes another Bishop William between Thomas and William de Tulloch. This appears to be a mistake; William was not bishop so early as 1448, as Keith states on the authority of Hay. The contrary is shewn by the writ, formerly referred to, in the fifth volume of the *Spalding Club Miscellany*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE ERECTION OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST. ANDREWS IN 1472, TO
THE SECOND ERECTION OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GLASGOW IN 1498.

*Death of James III.—His character and ecclesiastical policy—
Accession of James IV.—Opposition to Archbishop
Graham—His deprivation and imprisonment—His death
—His alleged heretical opinions—William Sheves, Arch-
bishop of St. Andrews—Succession of Bishops—First erec-
tion of Glasgow into an Archbishopric—Second erection
of Glasgow into an Archbishopric—Proceedings against
the Lollards.*

THE reign of James III., which had begun so auspiciously, was darkened long before its close by civil strife of a more than usually aggravated character. The nobles who rose in insurrection against the crown were headed at first by their sovereign's brother, and afterwards by his eldest son. In June, 1488, the king was defeated near Stirling, and slain while attempting to escape. At the time of his death he was in his thirty-fifth year. His body was buried at Cambuskenneth.

Very different opinions have been expressed by our writers regarding the character of James III. A true estimate of it appears to have been formed by Mr. Tytler. The king was, in his own nature, generous and humane. He inherited his grandfather's love for the fine arts, but, unfortunately for himself and his kingdom, he had little of the political ability by which James I. was distinguished. He allowed the accomplishments in which he delighted to engross more of his attention than was either safe or becoming in a Scottish sovereign; and the insurgent nobles were successful in rousing the popular hatred against habits and pursuits which, in happier days, would have gracefully adorned the throne. In one very serious point, the ecclesiastical policy of James was of a most pernicious description. During his reign the canonical rights of chapters and convents in the election of bishops and abbots

were systematically set aside, and persons were intruded into the higher offices of the Church, who were entirely unworthy of their station.¹ The evil consequences were soon discovered. The clergy lost much of their influence over the people, and the dignified ecclesiastics became assimilated in their habits and pursuits to the temporal barons with whom they associated.

James IV., the eldest son of the late king, was in his seventeenth year, when the successful result of the insurrection raised him to the throne. The nobles of his party conducted him to Scone, where his coronation was celebrated. As James approached to manhood, he strove by a vigorous and impartial administration of the laws to restore tranquillity to his kingdom. In this, he was to a great extent successful, and he was rewarded by the devoted attachment of his subjects. But there were defects in his personal character, which afterwards led to the most disastrous consequences.

For centuries the Scottish Church had felt the inconvenience of wanting a metropolitan, and it might naturally have been expected that when the remedy, which on former occasions had been sought for in vain, was at last obtained, the change would be attended with general satisfaction. This was the more to be anticipated, inasmuch as the see, now raised to the metropolitan dignity, was the one whose old primatial rank had never entirely ceased, and the archbishop, who had obtained the pall, was not more illustrious for his high station, than for his learning and virtues. The actual result, however, was very different. The announcement of the change was received with discontent, and the authority of the new metropolitan was resisted. This much is certain; but it is not easy to explain the motives which actuated the various parties, or to give a distinct account of the events which marked the primacy of the first archbishop of St. Andrews.

The elevation of one of their own number to metropolitan rule was disagreeable to the other Scottish bishops. Long accustomed to the exercise of independent authority in their several dioceses, and yielding only a nominal submission to a temporary conservator of their own appointment, they had now a permanent superior, whose power was likely to be more

¹ Leslie, p. 305. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 229.

seriously felt. They had all a real grievance to complain of—that the measure had been carried through without their concurrence. Some of them were not bound by the association of ancient reverence to the see of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Glasgow, in particular, might hold it to be unjust to reduce to a subordinate position an independent Church, which, from the date of its earliest records, had been subject immediately to the Roman Pontiff. But these circumstances would have been insufficient of themselves to outweigh the manifest benefits of the measure, and the papal authority by which it was supported, had not other causes contributed to increase the opposition. Archbishop Graham was on bad terms with King James and his counsellors, and the power of the State was in consequence arrayed against him. It is probable that he had given offence by not consulting his sovereign before accepting the metropolitan dignity; and a less worthy motive—the dread that a stop might be put to the improper disposal of ecclesiastical benefices—may have contributed to alienate the court. The archbishop also failed in receiving the support of the clergy of his own diocese. An able and ambitious churchman, William Sheves, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, appears from the first to have taken an active part in opposition. A royal mandate forbade the bishop to assume the name, or exercise the functions, of a metropolitan. He appealed in vain to Rome. Pope Sixtus, instead of supporting the unfortunate primate, sent a legate to Scotland, by whom he was found guilty of simony, schism, and other offences, deprived of all his dignities, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He was in consequence confined, first at Inchcolm, afterwards at Dunfermline, and last of all in Lochleven Castle. He died at Lochleven in 1478, and was buried in the neighbouring Isle of St. Serf, the ancient abode of the Culdees.¹

What is otherwise so obscure, in regard to the cause of the severe persecution directed against Archbishop Graham, would admit of a satisfactory explanation, if there were any evidence that he held opinions opposed to the teaching of the Church. That this was one cause, at least, of the proceedings against him, seems to be the belief of Mr. David Laing, as explained

¹ Leslie, pp. 305, 306. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 229-231. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. i. p. xxxi. Spottiswood, vol. i. p. 116-118. Keith's Catalogue. pp. 30, 31.
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in the appendix to his edition of Knox's History, entitled "The Lollards in Scotland during the fifteenth century." After mentioning the cases of Resby and Crawar, he adds, that it was not obscure men or strangers only who were exposed to the charge of heresy; and he refers especially to Archbishop Graham, who, he tells us, was "degraded from his dignities, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment as a HERETIC, schismatic, &c." Mr. Laing writes here with less than his usual accuracy. The only authorities which he quotes are Leslie, Buchanan, and Spottiswood. Bishop Leslie does not specify heresy among the offences laid to the primate's charge; and Buchanan, while he states that many absurd accusations were brought against him, among others, that he sometimes said mass thrice on the same day, makes no allusion to heretical opinions. If it could be supposed that Leslie was silent out of regard to the honour of the episcopate, Buchanan certainly had every motive to tell the whole truth. The charge of heresy rests on the single authority of Spottiswood. But that historian does not say what the particular heretical opinions were, and, in any event, his statement, unsupported by the authority of Leslie and Buchanan, whose narrative he otherwise copies, cannot be received as sufficient evidence on this point.¹

Archbishop Graham was succeeded in the see of St. Andrews by his chief opponent, William Sheves. The archdeacon, who had been appointed coadjutor-bishop during the lifetime of his predecessor, appears, on his promotion to the see, to have assumed the style of archbishop, and to have exercised the metropolitan powers to which he had objected when held by his predecessor. In the year 1487, he obtained letters from Pope Innocent VIII., expressly recognizing and confirming his rights, bestowing upon him the pall and the dignity of primate, and appointing him *legatus natus* for Scotland, with privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in England. We hear of no farther opposition to the new prerogatives of the see of St. Andrews.²

¹ See Knox's Works, vol. i. p. 499.

² Leslie, p. 306. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 230. William Sheves is styled coadjutor of St. Andrews in June and October, 1477. (Regist. Episcopat. Brechin. vol. i. p. 200, and Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. pp. 252, 253.)

Leslie states that, in the year 1482, the primate was induced or compelled by the king and the Duke of Albany to resign the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and remain satisfied with the bishopric of Murray, and that Andrew Stewart was appointed archbishop in his room. Pinkerton is of opinion that this is a mistake, so far as the archbishopric is concerned, but that Murray, which had hitherto been retained in commendam by the primate, was now resigned to Bishop Stewart.¹ The statements both of Leslie and of Pinkerton seem to be opposed to the evidence of contemporary records.

Archbishop Sheves is said to have died on the twenty-eighth of January, 1497.²

Andrew Muirhead was succeeded in the see of Glasgow by John Laing, treasurer of the kingdom, who was bishop-elect in January, 1474. Bishop Laing was for some time chancellor of Scotland, and died on the eleventh of January, 1483. George Carmichael, treasurer of the cathedral, was then chosen bishop, but died before consecration.³

The next bishop was Robert Blackader, who was translated from Aberdeen. He was bishop of Glasgow in November, 1483.⁴ During his episcopate, another important change took place in the government of the Scottish Church. Actuated by the superstitious feeling which marked his character, or imitating a similar practice in some of the continental kingdoms, James IV. had caused himself to be enrolled among the canons of the cathedral church of St. Kentigern. At his desire—as we

In March, 1479, he is called archbishop, and his church is spoken of as the metropolitan church of St. Andrews. (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 123.) In regard to the bulls of Pope Innocent, see Thomas Innes (*Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. i. p. xxxi.), and note by Keith (*Historical Catalogue*, p. 32).

¹ Leslie, p. 311. Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 312, 313.

² Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 32. Innes (*Critical Essay*, p. 595) and Hailes (vol. iii. p. 228) speak of a provincial council held by Archbishop Sheves at St. Andrews, in April, 1487. Their authority is a writ in the *Chartulary of Arbroath*. But that document (*Registrum Nigrum*, p. 254) seems to refer to a synod of the diocese of St. Andrews.

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 145, 166. *Registr. Episcopat. Glasguen.* pp. 422, 423, 615. Keith's *Catalogue*, pp. 253, 254. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 623.

⁴ *Registr. Episcopat. Brechin.* vol. i. p. 208.

may reasonably believe—an act of the three estates was passed in January, 1489, by which it was agreed that Glasgow should be erected into an archbishopric, with privileges resembling those enjoyed by the metropolitan Church of York. This measure was opposed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as being an infringement on the rights of his see, and it was disliked by the canons of Glasgow, who were afraid that their capitular rights would be overborne by the additional authority thus conferred on their bishop. The remonstrances of Archbishop Sheves were disregarded, and, the chapter having been conciliated by an express ratification of their privileges granted by the king and the bishop, a bull was obtained from Pope Innocent VIII., on the ninth day of January, 1492, by which the see of Glasgow was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan Church, and the dioceses of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyll, along with that of Glasgow itself, were withdrawn from the province of St. Andrews, and subjected to the jurisdiction of the new archbishop.¹

The precise arrangement of the suffragan sees established by the bull of Pope Innocent did not long continue in force. Dunkeld and Dunblane were re-annexed to St. Andrews, and, in their place, the diocese of the Isles was united to the province of the southern metropolitan. I have not been able to ascertain the date or any other circumstances connected with this second arrangement. In a bull ratifying the privileges of the Church of Glasgow, granted by Pope Clement VII., in 1524, the bull of Pope Innocent, subjecting the four dioceses of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyll, is specially mentioned, and reference is also made to a bull of Leo X., in favour of the same Church, in which the only suffragan sees mentioned are Galloway and Argyll. Thomas Innes, however, seems to connect the change with the appointment of Iona as the permanent see of the Isles, in 1498. He does not quote his authority, but he is in general so accurate, and his acquaintance with the history of the Church of Glasgow, in particular, was so minute, that we may reasonably acquiesce in the correctness of his statement, until

¹ Leslie, p. 319. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 213. Wilkin's Concilia, vol. i. p. xxxi. Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen. pp. 465, 470-473, 475-483, and preface, pp. xlix. l.

some positive evidence to the contrary can be brought forward.¹

In the year 1494, we again hear of proceedings against the Lollards. Thirty persons, some of them women, and all residing within the deanery of Kyle and Cunningham, were summoned at the instance of Archbishop Blackader before King James and his council. They were known by the name of the Lollards of Kyle, and were accused of holding thirty-four heretical or erroneous opinions. Among the chief of these were the following:—That images are not to be kept or worshipped; that the relics of saints are not to be worshipped; that it is not lawful to fight, or to defend the faith; that Christ gave the power of binding and loosing to St. Peter alone, not to his successors; that Christ ordained no priests to consecrate; that after consecration there remains bread, and that the bread does not become the natural body of Christ; that tithes are not to be paid to ecclesiastics; that every faithful man or woman is a priest; that the Pope deceives the people by his bulls and indulgences; that the mass profiteth not the souls in purgatory; that the excommunication of the Church is not to be feared; that in no case is it lawful to swear; that priests may marry as they did under the Law; that true Christians receive the body of Christ every day; that prayers should not be addressed to the Blessed Virgin, but to God only; that men are no more bound to pray in church than in other places; that the Pope is the head of the Church of Antichrist. These charges are taken from the official records of the ecclesiastical court, and, as Knox remarks, cannot altogether be relied on as expressing the true opinions of the accused. In the main they are no doubt correctly stated, for they agree with what are known to have been the doctrines generally held by the followers of Wickliffe. On this occasion, either from the king's dislike to persecution, or for some other cause not sufficiently explained, the Lollards escaped without punishment.²

¹ *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 529-537. *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. i. p. xxxi.

² *Knox*, vol. i. p. 7-12. This historian professes to have drawn his materials from the Register of Glasgow, meaning probably, as Mr. Laing observes, the court books of the official of that diocese. These records have not been preserved, and there is no other authentic account of the charges or of the trial. The scoffing remarks of the accused, as given by Knox, could hardly have been tolerated by King James, and, it is to be hoped, are exaggerated in the narrative.

Thomas Lauder was sixty years of age when raised to the see of Dunkeld, and on that account was for some time opposed by the chapter. But when finally consecrated, he distinguished himself by the vigour of his episcopal government, and by many acts of piety and munificence. Mylne informs us that, in the year 1457, he held the diocesan synod within his cathedral, the clergy having before that time been obliged to meet at the Carmelite monastery of Tullilum, near Perth, on account of the vicinity of Dunkeld to the Highland caterans. In consequence of his advanced years, Bishop Lauder resigned the see in 1476. In a charter, dated in March, 1481, he is referred to as formerly Bishop of Dunkeld, and now bishop in the Catholic Church, and he died on the fourth of November, in that year. His successor was James Livingston, Dean of Dunkeld, who was consecrated in his own cathedral by Bishop Lauder, and the Bishops of Dunblane and Brechin, on the Sunday following the feast of St. John Baptist, 1476. Bishop Livingston was for some time chancellor of Scotland, and died at Edinburgh on the twenty-eighth day of August, 1483.¹

Alexander Inglis, Dean of Dunkeld, was next chosen by the chapter, but his election was annulled by the Roman court, and George Brown was raised to the see.²

David Stewart, Bishop of Murray, is said to have died in 1475. He was succeeded by William Tulloch, who was translated from Orkney in 1477. On Bishop Tulloch's decease in 1482, Andrew Stewart, son of Jane, the queen of James I., by her second husband the Black Knight of Lorn, was appointed to the see. Bishop Andrew Stewart was elect and confirmed in 1482.³

In the year 1473, the district of Glenbucket, in the diocese of Aberdeen, was separated from Logie in Mar by Bishop Spence, and erected into a separate parish. The reason given for the new foundation was the danger frequently experienced by the

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 191. Keith's Catalogue, p. 8931. Mylne, *Vite Episcop. Dunkelden.* pp. 8, 21-26.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 153, 166-169, 171. *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, pp. * 127, * 141. *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. * 116. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 91, 92.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 118, 142. Preface to the *Chartulary of Murray*, p. xv. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 145, 146.

inhabitants of a mountainous district in going from Glenbucket to Logie, five or six persons having perished at one time while resorting to the parish church at Easter.¹

Bishop Spence died on the fifteenth day of April, 1480, and was succeeded in the course of the same year by Robert Blackader, canon of Glasgow, who was consecrated at Rome. On Bishop Blackader's translation to Glasgow in 1483, William Elphinstone was translated from Ross to Aberdeen.²

Henry was still Bishop of Ross in 1476. He was succeeded by Thomas, who, in the year 1481, founded the collegiate church of St. Duthac, at Tain. The next bishop was William Elphinstone, who was elect and confirmed of Ross in March, 1482. He seems not to have been consecrated till after his translation to Aberdeen. His successor was John Fraser, who, in 1498, is styled postulate of Ross.³

William, Bishop of Caithness, was probably succeeded by Andrew Stewart, Abbot of Ferne, who is said to have been bishop in 1490.⁴

John Balfour, Bishop of Brechin, assisted in consecrating Bishop Livingston of Dunkeld in 1476. He was succeeded by William Meldrum, who was consecrated in 1488.⁵

John Hepburn, Bishop of Dunblane, also assisted at Bishop Livingston's consecration. He was succeeded in 1486 by James Chisholm, who was consecrated in the following year.⁶

Robert Colquhoun, Bishop of Argyll, the successor of Bishop Lauder, was consecrated in 1475. He was still bishop in 1492, and appears to have been succeeded by John, who was bishop in the year 1499.⁷

¹ Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon. vol. i. p. 307-309.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 171. Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 58. Preface to the Chartulary of Aberdeen, p. xli.-xliv. Boece, Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ, p. 37-39.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 136, 142, 166, 190. Book of the Thanes of Cawdor, p. 90. Preface to the Chartulary of Aberdeen, pp. xliii. xliv. Keith's Catalogue, p. 189. Spottiswood's Religious Houses, p. 473.

⁴ Keith's Catalogue, p. 214.

⁵ Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. ii. p. 299.

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 184. Keith's Catalogue, p. 178.

⁷ Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 122. Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen. p. 439. Keith's Catalogue, p. 288. Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, vol. i. part i. p. 36.

Ninian was still Bishop of Galloway in October, 1479. He was succeeded by George Vaus, who is mentioned as holding the see in October, 1483, and in July, 1494.¹

Robert is said to have succeeded Angus as Bishop of the Isles, and to have been himself succeeded by John.²

About the year 1498, the abbacy of Iona was annexed to the bishopric of the Isles, and the abbey church was appointed to be the see of the diocese until its proper cathedral in Man should be recovered from the English. In 1506, Bishop John is styled Bishop of the Isles and Commendator of Iona. From this time it would seem that the convent of St. Columba's monastery discharged the functions of chapter of the diocese of the Isles.³

On the translation of William Tulloch, Bishop of Orkney, to Murray, in 1477, Andrew was appointed bishop of the former diocese. He was bishop in 1478, and in 1494, and continued to hold the see till the close of the century.⁴

¹ *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, p. 116. *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, pp 35, 362. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 276, 277.

² Keith's Catalogue, p. 305.

³ See *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii. part i. p. 291-294.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 193. *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. 361. Keith's Catalogue, p. 222.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM THE SECOND ERECTION OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GLASGOW IN 1498,
TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP FOREMAN, OF ST. ANDREWS, IN 1521.

Death of James IV.—His character—Accession of James V.—James, Duke of Ross, Archbishop of St. Andrews—Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews—Foundation of St. Leonard's College—Andrew Foreman, Archbishop of St. Andrews—Succession of Bishops—George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld—Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld—William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen—His early years—His ecclesiastical appointments—Foundation of the University of Aberdeen and of King's College—Printing of the Breviary of Aberdeen—Private life of Bishop Elphinstone—He declines to accept the primacy—His death.

IN 1503, James IV. was married to Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., King of England. The character of Margaret was, in several respects, too like that of her brother Henry, but the union resulted in consequences most important to the well-being of the two kingdoms.

In the beginning of the century, Pope Alexander VI., at the request of King James, erected the chapel-royal at Stirling into a collegiate church, bearing the name of St. Michael. The Provost of Kirkheugh, or the church of St. Mary of the Rock, at St. Andrews, was appointed dean, but this arrangement was altered a few years afterwards, and the deanery of the chapel, with the cure of the royal household, was annexed to the see of Galloway, the bishop of which then assumed the title of Bishop of Galloway and the Chapel Royal.¹

The measures of James for the good government of the country were vigorous and successful. Unfortunately, however, he allowed himself to be involved in an imprudent war

¹ See Dalryell's *Chartulary of the Chapel Royal of Stirling*, p. 51-59; Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 276; Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 472; *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 96.

with England. On the ninth of September, 1513, he was defeated and slain at Flodden. The character of James has come down to us depicted in the colours of romance rather than in those of real history. Our writers dwell on his fearlessness and generosity, his affection for his people, and his strict and equal administration of the laws; and in all these respects he deserves the praise which has been bestowed upon him. But his less favourable points have too often been overlooked or palliated. The distribution of ecclesiastical patronage became worse even than it had been in his father's time, and abuses of the most scandalous nature were so common, that they were regarded as a regular part of the Church's system. The king's own personal conduct was very immoral. His leisure hours were generally spent in an alternate course of idle or profligate amusements, and of superstitious attempts to make up for these indulgences by solitary penance, or by pilgrimages to his favourite shrines of St. Duthac and St. Ninian. Yet Bishop Leslie, who denounces in the strongest language the substitution of luxurious courtiers in the place of the Benedicts and Bernards of old times, speaks of James as the greatest and holiest of sovereigns, and as bestowing on heavenly things all the time which he had to spare from the discharge of his kingly duties.¹ Such was the change which had come over men's minds since the days of David and Waltheof.

James, the infant son of James IV., was crowned at Scone in the month following his father's death. The government was for some time entrusted to the queen-dowager, afterwards to the Duke of Albany; and Scotland again experienced the evils which it had so often suffered during the minority of its kings.

On the decease of Archbishop Sheves, James, Duke of Ross, brother of King James IV., was raised to the metropolitan see of St. Andrews. He was at that time only twenty-one years of age. From a safe conduct granted to him by King Henry in December, 1497, it appears that he was then about to pass through England; and our later writers state that the object of his journey was to obtain papal confirmation in the archbishopric, the canons in regard to age having already been

¹ Leslie, pp. 305, 317, 349.

dispensed with as to his election. No record of his consecration remains, nor is the fact alluded to by the historians of the time. In September, 1498, he is called bishop-elect and confirmed, and afterwards simply archbishop, but the same style of archbishop was used by his successor, who certainly was never consecrated. It is perhaps a presumption against the consecration of the Duke of Ross, that we find him dating a charter by the year, not of his consecration, but of his metropolitan government. Besides the archbishopric, the Duke also held the abbacy of Dunfermline, and, for a short time, that of Arbroath, and the office of chancellor of the kingdom. He was archbishop in May, 1503, and died either in the end of that, or in the beginning of the following year. Several of our writers allude to the piety, learning, and other virtues of the Duke of Ross. These statements may be correct, but I am not aware that they are confirmed by better contemporary evidence than the words of form in a safe conduct from the King of England.¹

There is reason to fear that the nomination of the Duke of Ross to the see of St. Andrews was more a matter of political convenience than has generally been supposed; but there can be no doubt whatever as to the character of the next appointment. The metropolitan and primatial see of Scotland, after having been purposely kept vacant for a considerable time, was, in 1509, at the king's request and by papal provision, bestowed on Alexander Stewart, an illegitimate son of James IV., and then a boy about sixteen years old. A proceeding of this kind shews how completely the Church was now secularized, and how entirely its real nature was forgotten both by the spiritual and the temporal rulers. James indeed bestowed the utmost attention on his son's education. The youthful prelate was first entrusted to the care of an accomplished Scottish ecclesiastic, Patrick Panter, the royal secretary. He was then sent abroad, and after travelling through France resided for sometime in Italy, and, while at

¹ Charters of Holyrood, p. 253, and preface, p. lxx. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 272. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 525. Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc, p. 349. Spottiswood, vol. i. pp. 121, 122. Crawford's Officers of State, pp. 58, 59. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 32, 33. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i. p. 244-246.

Sienna, was assisted in his studies by Erasmus. Subsequently to the death of his pupil, that great scholar spoke in the highest terms both of his genius and of his virtues, and his praise was evidently the genuine expression of his feelings and belief. To provide for the administration of the see, King James requested the Pope to confer episcopal consecration on a Dominican friar, of learning and experience, whose name is not mentioned, in order that he might act as suffragan to the archbishop. It does not appear whether this proposed appointment ever took place. On the return of the archbishop to Scotland, he was welcomed with great joy by the king and the whole court, and, in addition to his metropolitan dignity, was invested with the office of chancellor of the kingdom, and appointed commendator of the abbey of Dunfermline, and the priory of Coldingham. This accumulation of ecclesiastical offices was another evil sign of the time. The archbishop accompanied his father on his invasion of England, and fell by his side at Flodden.¹

In the year 1512, a council of the clergy met in the monastery of the Black Friars at Edinburgh. Bishop Leslie, in his account of this synod, makes the strange blunder regarding Bagimont's taxation which was referred to in a former chapter.²

In the years 1512 and 1513, a second college was founded in the University of St. Andrews by the archbishop, the prior, John Hepburn, and the canons of the metropolitan church. For this purpose the hospital, which in old times had been used for the reception of pilgrims, and the adjoining church, with large endowments in lands and houses, were given to the new institution, which received the name of St. Leonard's College, from the saint to whom the church was dedicated. The charter of the archbishop and chapter was confirmed by King James in 1513, and by Cardinal Beaton, as archbishop, primate, legatus natus, and legate a latere, in 1544. Statutes for the government of the college were drawn up by Prior John Hepburn, and were confirmed in 1544 by the Lord James Stewart, commendator of the priory

¹ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 3-6, 94, 95. Crawford's *Officers of State*, p. 59-61. Keith's *Catalogue*, pp. 33, 34. Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. p. 247-253.

² Leslie, p. 341. Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 595. Hailes, vol. iii. pp. 228, 229.

of St. Andrews, Alexander Mylne, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and administrator of the priory, John Winram, sub-prior, and the other canons.¹

Within four weeks after the battle of Flodden, King Henry endeavoured to prevail on Leo X. to deprive the see of St. Andrews of its metropolitan privileges, and to assist in subjecting the Scottish Church to the supremacy of England. His attempt was unsuccessful.²

In Scotland it was proposed to raise William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, to the vacant metropolitan see, but, on his declining to accept, a contest began, of a character most unseemly, and such as had not hitherto been known in the Scottish Church. Three competitors urged their claims to the archiepiscopal dignity, all apparently relying for success, not so much on any qualities fitting them for the discharge of the duties of the office which they sought, as on the support of those who bore the chief sway in the Church and kingdom. These rivals were Andrew Foreman, Bishop of Murray, John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, and Gavin Douglas, Provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh. The queen-dowager, and her second husband, the Earl of Angus, supported the pretensions of Douglas, who was the earl's uncle; Hepburn relied for assistance on the powerful family to which he belonged; and Foreman, an able statesman long employed on foreign embassies by James IV., trusted to his influence with the Roman court. The ecclesiastical claims of Hepburn were the best, as he had been elected by the canons; but he sought to strengthen them in a way characteristic of the age, by seizing the castle of St. Andrews which was held by the Douglasses. He was successful in this attempt, and kept possession of the fortress

¹ Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 59. Appendix to the Report on the Universities of Scotland, p. 388. Evidence taken by the University Commissioners, vol. iii. pp. 274-278, 281-285. Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 242-254.

² See letter from King Henry to the Pope, quoted from the Vatican Papers in the British Museum, in Dr. Lorimer's *Life of Patrick Hamilton*, p. 250. The king asserts that the archbishop slain at Flodden was the second who held the metropolitan dignity, and that all his predecessors except the last were suffragans of York. The Pope could hardly have been deceived by statements so notoriously untrue.

notwithstanding the efforts of Angus to regain it. Foreman, in the meantime, was appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews and legate a latere by Pope Leo X., and also secured the powerful aid of the Scottish chamberlain, Lord Home. Douglas was the first to retire from the contest; and, by the mediation of the Duke of Albany, Hepburn was also induced to give up his claims, on being allowed to retain the rents of the see which he had collected, and to hold certain other benefices. On these terms the Bishop of Murray was put in possession of the temporalities of the arch-diocese, and was acknowledged as metropolitan and primate of Scotland. He also received the abbacy of Dunfermline in commendam.¹

The high ability of Foreman is beyond a doubt, and he could not have discharged the important offices entrusted to him for so many years without competent learning. An absurd story regarding his ignorance of Latin, told by Pit-scottie, and frequently repeated, may be dismissed with contempt; but the manner in which he acquired the metropolitan see must have been prejudicial to his future usefulness, and nothing which we know of his actual administration tended to counteract the effect of this inauspicious beginning. He died in the end of the year 1521.²

The chief events in the episcopate of George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld, have been recorded at some length by Alexander Mylne. He was son of George Brown, treasurer of the burgh of Dundee, a descendant of the house of Midmar, in Aberdeenshire. He was taught grammar at Dundee, and, after studying for some time at St. Andrews, completed his education at the University of Paris, where he proceeded master of arts. Returning to his native country, he became one of the four regents in St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. He was ordained priest by Bishop Lauder of Dunkeld, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1464, and was afterwards parson of Tynningham, and chancellor of the cathedral church of Aberdeen. Hav-

¹ Leslie, p. 364. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 255-257. Spottiswood, vol. i. pp. 122, 123. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i. p. 255-260. *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 217, 268, 269. Pope Leo had intended to bestow the see of St. Andrews on one of his own nephews, but did not attempt to do so, when he found that the Scots were resolved to have a native of the kingdom for primate.

² Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 8.

ing been sent to Rome by the king to secure the nomination of George Carmichael to the see of Glasgow, he became intimate with Rodrigo Borgia, then Bishop of Porto, by whose influence with Pope Sixtus IV. he was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld. He was consecrated at Rome in the year 1484.

After some delay, he obtained possession of the temporalities of the see, and devoted himself to the duties of his office. It would seem that there had previously been only one rural deanery in the diocese of Dunkeld, but, in order the more effectually to restore ecclesiastical discipline, Bishop Brown established four deaneries, one for Atholl and Drumalban, a second for Angus, a third for Fife, Fothric, and Stratherne, and the last for the parishes south of the Forth. The rural deanery of Angus was conferred on Alexander Mylne. The bishop also employed Franciscan and Dominican friars, skilled in the Gaelic tongue, to preach and hear confessions in the Highland portions of his diocese at least once a year. It is mentioned by Mylne, that the people now confessed their sins, which they had not done for thirty years, and obtained absolution.

Prior to the time of Bishop Brown, the parish of Little Dunkeld was very extensive. He therefore divided it into two parishes, one retaining the former title, the other named Caputh, for which he built a church, providing it with a glebe, and an endowment for the vicar. Finding that the number of the inhabitants continued to increase, and that the Gaelic tongue was spoken in the upper parts of Caputh, he afterwards built the church of St. Anne at Dowally, and erected it into a separate parish, with an endowment and manse for the minister.

The conclusion of Bishop Brown's life resembled in some respects that of a yet more eminent prelate immediately to be mentioned. Among the latest of his good works was the foundation of a bridge over the Tay, near his palace at Dunkeld. When advanced in years, and suffering from a painful disease, he received intelligence of the disastrous field of Flodden, and of the death of the king and many of his own friends. From that time he prepared for his departure. In the month of April, 1514, he made his will, bequeathing the whole furniture in his palace to his successor, whoever he might be, because

he himself, on his appointment to the see, had found his residence entirely unfurnished. He spent the summer at Dunkeld, occupied in his devotions, and refreshing himself with beholding the progress of the bridge from his chamber window. In autumn, he removed for a change of air to the Carmelite monastery of Tullilum. Returning to Dunkeld, he was able to preside at a meeting of his chapter held on the seventh of November. Towards the end of the year, he went to his castle of Cluny, where he celebrated the feast of the Nativity. After the Epiphany he became worse, and on Saturday, the twelfth of January, requested Alexander Mylne, who was in attendance, to be in readiness to consecrate the Eucharist, and administer extreme unction. Early on Sunday he made his confession, received absolution, and partook of the Holy Communion. On that day he obtained some rest, but the following night he was sleepless. About six o'clock next morning, he desired the archdeacon and precentor of Dunkeld, and Alexander Mylne, to come to him, and requested extreme unction. The narrative thus proceeds: "We asked him to have in recollection the Passion of Christ, the articles of our belief, and that saying of his patron St. Martin, 'I neither fear to die nor refuse to live.' Reciting the birth and death of Christ, and the other articles of the Creed, in a loud and distinct voice, he professed his firm, undoubting belief in them, as became a Catholic priest, and declared that so he ever would believe in despite of the Devil and his temptations, solemnly protesting that, inasmuch as he was then in a right faith and of a sound mind, if afterwards, through bodily weakness, or the craft of the Devil, he should in any way wander from the faith, he should be judged by what he now testified. Throwing himself entirely on the mercy, rather than on the justice of God, he expressed a firm trust in his salvation, not for his own merits, but through the Passion of Christ, and by the prayers of the Blessed Virgin and St. Columba."

There were present on this occasion, besides the dignitaries above named, two other priests, and several of the neighbouring gentry. After the anointing, mass was celebrated, to which the bishop listened with devout attention. As the day advanced, his pains increased, and, when no longer able to speak

aloud, he fixed his eyes on the crucifix placed opposite to him, and prayed in a low voice. The office for a person on the eve of departure having been repeated, he said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." After a little, raising his hands, he closed his own eyes, and, making the sign of the cross on his breast, fell asleep in the Lord.

The decease of Bishop Brown took place on Monday, the fourteenth day of January, 1515, he being then in the seventy-sixth year of his age.¹

Andrew Stewart, brother to the Earl of Atholl, was chosen to fill the vacant see, but the validity of his election was disputed, and Gavin Douglas, who had lately been disappointed in obtaining the primacy, was nominated to Dunkeld, and obtained confirmation from Pope Leo X. The party opposed to the Douglasses accused him of breaking the law by the manner in which he had procured the papal bull. He was in consequence sentenced to imprisonment, and was confined for some time in the castle of St. Andrews, and in other places. The factions which divided the kingdom having come to a temporary agreement, Douglas was released from captivity, and consecrated at Glasgow, by James Beaton, Archbishop of that see. When he went to Dunkeld, he found the cathedral and the episcopal palace occupied by the armed retainers of his rival, Andrew Stewart; and before he could dislodge them he had to ask the assistance of all the friends of his house in the neighbouring country. An arrangement was finally made, similar to that which had been effected regarding the metropolitan see. Stewart resigned his claim, on being allowed to retain certain benefices and the rents which he had collected.²

Bishop Douglas was too closely connected with the head of the great house to which he belonged to be allowed to pass his days in the quiet discharge of his episcopal duties. He became mixed up with the political intrigues of the time, and in the year 1521 was obliged to retire to England. When the see of St. Andrews was again vacant by the death of

¹ Mylne, *Vitæ Episcop. Dunkelden.* p. 27-54.

² *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 222. Mylne, *Vitæ Episcop. Dunkelden.* p. 70-75. Keith's Catalogue, p. 93. Irving's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, vol. ii. p. 7-11.

Archbishop Foreman, it was supposed that the Douglasses would make another attempt to obtain the primacy for the Bishop of Dunkeld. In consequence of this, the Scottish government caused the revenues of his bishopric to be sequestered, and agreed to petition the Pope against his appointment. These apprehensions were removed by the decease of the bishop. He died at London in the year 1522, and was buried in the church of the Savoy.¹

The many accomplishments of Bishop Douglas are acknowledged by all. If it were allowable to consider his character merely in a literary point of view, it would be needless to say a word in disparagement of one who did so much for Scottish poetry, and who, even as an ecclesiastic, possessed more than the average acquirements and virtues of the age. He comes before us, on most occasions, rather as a statesman than as a prelate, and, in his political capacity, it is now known that he was far from blameless. It is to be feared that he had the ascendancy of the house of Douglas more at heart than either the good government of his diocese, or the welfare of his country.

Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Murray, died in 1501, and in the course of the same year was succeeded by Andrew Foreman. Bishop Foreman held the abbey of Dryburgh, the priory of Pittenweem, and the English priory of Cottingham, in commendam; and, by the favour of Lewis XII. of France, the archbishopric of Bourges was also conferred upon him. King James was so much pleased with his services, that he entreated Julius II. to bestow upon him the dignity of cardinal. The Pope, in a letter, dated the sixth of May, 1511, promised to comply with the king's request, but the honour was not conferred, probably in consequence of the change in the political relations between Rome and Scotland, which took place soon afterwards.²

On the translation of Bishop Foreman to St. Andrews, James Hepburn, brother of the Earl of Bothwell, was ap-

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 93. Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, vol. ii. p. 15-23. Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 328-330. Ellis's Original Letters, 3rd series, vol. i. p. 303.

² Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. pp. 138, 139, 143, 217. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 256. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 146, 147. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i. p. 257-259.

pointed Bishop of Murray. He held the see till his death in 1524.¹

In last chapter the appointment of William Elphinstone to the bishopric of Ross, and his translation to Aberdeen, were mentioned. His episcopate continued till after the accession of James V., and I now propose to give as connected a view of the life of this eminent prelate, as can be drawn from the records which have been preserved.

William Elphinstone was born at Glasgow, probably in the year 1431.² His descent was derived from the noble Scottish family whose name he bore. His parents resided in Glasgow, and his father seems to have been a merchant in that city.³ He was carefully educated under the best masters his native city could supply. His advances in learning were rapid, and his boyhood was also distinguished for piety,

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 148. Preface to the Chartulary of Murray, p. xv.

² Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 40. With his usual disregard of dates, Boece does not mention the year, but, as he afterwards refers to Elphinstone as eighty-three years old towards the conclusion of his episcopate, the year mentioned in the text may be assumed to be correct.

³ Crawford tells us (*Officers of State*, p. 47) that William Elphinstone, the bishop's father, came to Glasgow in the reign of James I.; that he was married to Margaret Douglas, of the house of Mains, by whom he had several children besides the bishop; that after her death he entered into holy orders, and became rector of Kirkmichael and archdeacon of Teviotdale; and that he died on the thirtieth of June, 1486. He quotes the authority of the Obituary of Glasgow for the fact that William Elphinstone, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, was father of the Bishop of Aberdeen. But in the obit, as printed in the Chartulary of Glasgow (p. 616), the words quoted by Crawford, "*Pater Willelmi Episcopi Aberdonensis*," do not occur. Mr. Cosmo Innes (Preface to the *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. xi.) states that the bishop's father was William Elphinstone, rector of Kirkmichael and archdeacon of Teviotdale. He thinks that the story of this ecclesiastic having taken orders after he became a widower was a "pious fiction," and that the bishop was "the offspring of a churchman who could not legally marry, but whose connection and family, in violation of his vows, were then tolerated by society, and almost sanctioned by the practice of the highest of his order." Boece's account is obscure, and perhaps something is purposely kept back. But so far as his information goes, and judging from the whole scope of his narrative, I would rather suppose that the bishop's father was a citizen of Glasgow, engaged in trade; and there seems to be no proof that he was ever in holy orders. The archdeacon of Teviotdale may have been related to the bishop. The William Elphinstone, who appears in the records as parson of Kirkmichael, was not the archdeacon, but the bishop himself. The explanation of a writ, which is said to refer to the bishop's illegitimacy, may perhaps be, that there was some canonical impediment which made the marriage of his parents invalid or doubtful as the law of the Church then stood.

marked, as might be expected, by acts which partook of the erroneous belief of the age. After having been carefully instructed in grammar, he commenced in his twentieth year the study of logic and natural science. These pursuits were interrupted for some time by his assistance being required in superintending the business of the family. In this employment he shewed great prudence and dexterity; but it was an uncongenial occupation, and he gladly exchanged it for the study of the canon law. He attended lectures on that science in the University of Glasgow, and subsequently practised before the Church courts as an advocate, with a high reputation for integrity. He had in the meantime proceeded master of arts, and been raised to the priesthood. After some time he gave up his legal occupations, and accepted the pastoral charge of the parish of Kirkmichael.¹

Elphinstone remained at Kirkmichael for four years, discharging his parochial duties in the most exemplary manner. He then returned to Glasgow, at the desire of his uncle, Laurence Elphinstone, who exhorted him to visit the Continent for the purpose of acquiring more extensive knowledge and experience, and offered to defray the expenses of his journey. In compliance with this request he went to France, and studied in the universities of Paris and Orleans. After a residence abroad for several years he returned to Scotland, in obedience to the wish of his parents.²

He was favourably received at Glasgow, and appointed by Bishop Muirhead to the situation of official of that diocese. We find him holding this dignity in the year 1472, and his nomination to it could hardly have been much earlier. In 1474, he was elected rector of the university, and, as he is still designated parson of Kirkmichael, he must have continued to hold his benefice while absent in France. Some years afterwards, probably in 1478, he was raised to the dignity of official of Lothian. While he held that office, and

¹ Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 40-42. There are two parishes called Kirkmichael in the diocese of Glasgow, one in the deanery of Carrick, the other in that of Nithsdale. The name occurs also in other dioceses; but Elphinstone's parish was in the diocese of Glasgow.

² Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 42-44. Boece says that he was eight years abroad, but this cannot be reconciled with the records of the University of Glasgow. See preface to the *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. xiii.

subsequently when he had been raised to the episcopate, he discharged various embassies on behalf of his sovereigns, James III., and James IV. Boece relates his successful negotiations at the courts of Lewis XI., and Edward IV.; and, in the charter of erection of the burgh of Old Aberdeen by James IV., that monarch alludes to his embassies to England and France, Burgundy and Austria. Some of our writers refer to his appointment as archdeacon of Argyll in 1479, but the William Elphinstone, who held that office, appears to have been a different person from the bishop. His acquirements and services now pointed him out as fit to be raised to the highest stations in the Church. He was nominated to the see of Ross by King James III., and is styled elect and confirmed of that diocese in March, 1482. In November, 1483, he is styled Bishop of Aberdeen, and, as formerly mentioned, it is probable that he was not consecrated till after his translation from Ross. During the civil dissensions in the concluding years of the reign of James III., Elphinstone adhered faithfully to the cause of his sovereign, and held the high office of chancellor of the kingdom, from February, 1488, to June following, when the king was slain. In the reign of James IV., he held for many years the dignity of keeper of the Privy Seal.¹

Although much of Elphinstone's time must have been occupied by the various secular employments with which he was entrusted by his sovereigns, he faithfully discharged all the duties of his episcopal office. His revenues were spent with the munificence which befitted a bishop. He continued to carry on the good work of his predecessors in restoring the cathedral of St. Machar. He completed the great central tower which had been begun by Bishop Lichon, commenced a new erection of the choir, and covered the roof of the whole church with lead. He established additional rules for the better government of the cathedral chapter, and the vicars of the choir, and took great pains to restore the ancient ecclesias-

¹ Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, pp. 44, 45, 51, 54. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 98, 116, 136. *Regist. Episcopat. Brechinensis*, vol. i. p. 208. *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. * 90. *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, pp. 10, 58. *Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 82. *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. p. 304, and preface, pp. xliv. xlv.

tical music. He also enacted various constitutions for the regulation of the collegiate church of St. Nicholas in the royal burgh of Aberdeen.¹

But Elphinstone's greatest act was the foundation of the University of Aberdeen, and of the College of St. Mary, afterwards called King's College. On the tenth of February, 1495, a bull was granted by Pope Alexander VI., establishing a university at Aberdeen, for the study of Theology, the Civil and Canon Law, Medicine, the Arts, and other faculties, of which the bishop of the diocese and his successors were to be the chancellors. King James, by a charter dated the twenty-second of May, 1497, confirmed the privileges and property of the university, and of the collegiate church which the bishop proposed to establish. On the seventeenth of September, 1505, the bishop founded the college and collegiate church of St. Mary within the university; and a second erection, which he afterwards made, was confirmed by his successor, Gavin Dunbar, in the year 1529.²

Bishop Elphinstone was desirous to procure the best teachers for his new institution, and invited Hector Boece, who was then lecturing on philosophy in the College of Montague, in the University of Paris, to undertake the office of principal of St. Mary's College. Boece, a native of the county of Angus, and educated, during his early years, at Dundee, was a scholar of considerable attainments, and one of those to whom Scotland chiefly owes the introduction of classical studies. He is now best known by his *History of Scotland*, and by his *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*. The real character of the former work is generally acknowledged. After every allowance has been made for the uncritical spirit of the time when it was composed, and for the author's reliance on the information which he received from others, it is hardly possible to acquit him of wilfully perverting the true history of his country. There can be no doubt, however, that Boece discharged his duties as principal of the college with

¹ Bocco, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, pp. 54, 67. *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. pp. 92-106, 249. Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 4-7.

² Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 58. *Fasti Aberdonenses*, pp. 3-6, 11-15, 53-64, 80-108. Appendix to the Report of the University Commissioners, p. 305-307. Evidence taken by the University Commissioners, vol. iv. p. 129-151.

great efficiency. He was assisted in his labours by his friend and fellow-student William Hay, and the University of Aberdeen soon became famous for the scholars whom it sent forth. Among these are particularly mentioned Arthur Boece, the principal's brother, James Ogilvie, who afterwards declined to accept the see of Aberdeen, Alexander Galloway, parson of Kinkell, and John Adamson, provincial of the Black Friars, and the reformer of that order in Scotland.¹

We are indebted to Bishop Elphinstone for the printing of one of our ancient Church Service Books. The Breviary of Aberdeen, including the legends of the Scottish saints, then collected for the first time, was printed at Edinburgh, in the years 1509 and 1510. We learn that other liturgical works were contemplated at this time, from an act of the Privy Council, by which it was provided that, after their publication, no books of Salisbury use should be brought for sale into Scotland.²

The private life of Elphinstone was equally commendable. From his earliest youth he was chaste and temperate, and always set apart a portion of his time for reading and study. Even when he was advanced in years, the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the Doctors of the Church, and, occasionally, the writings of philosophers, continued to be perused by him with the greatest interest. His mode of living and his table were magnificent; he seldom supped without inviting some of the nobles as his guests. In his own fare he was simple and abstemious, yet always cheerful; pleasant in his speech, fond of music and literary conversation, encouraging harmless mirth, but shunning every approach to unbecoming language. His constant labours did not impair his strength or lessen his activity. Time itself seemed to lay

¹ Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 60-64. Preface to the *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. xvii.-xxi.

² Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 68. "And also it is devised and thought expedient by us and our council, that, in time coming, mass-books, manuals, matin-books, and porteous-books, after our own Scottish use, and with legends of Scottish saints, as is now gathered and eked by a reverend father in God, and our trusty counsellor William, Bishop of Aberdeen, and others, be used generally within all our realm, as soon as the same may be imprinted and provided, and that no manner of such books of Salisbury use be brought to be sold within our realm in time coming, and if any do in the contrary, that they shall tyne the same." (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. preface, p. 22.)

a gentle hand upon him; in his eighty-fourth year he was still able to discharge the various duties of his station.¹

The serene repose in which the concluding years of the bishop's life were spent came to an end when his sovereign determined to engage in the war with England. Elphinstone was foremost among the wise counsellors who endeavoured to prevent that fatal resolution. He never recovered from the shock which the tidings of the battle of Flodden gave him. We are told that from that time he was not seen to smile, and that his mirth and innocent pleasantry were abandoned. But he did not cease to labour for the good of his country. He attended a meeting of the estates at Perth, and, on that occasion, was urged to accept the primatial dignity, but he stedfastly refused it. He was unwilling to leave the see to which he was so much attached, and he gladly returned to Aberdeen. His time there was chiefly spent in the restoration of the choir of his cathedral, and in building the bridge over the Dee, which was afterwards completed by Bishop Gavin Dunbar.²

It was the wish of Elphinstone to close his life in his own cathedral city, but his presence and advice were again required at the seat of government. His strength was by this time much impaired, and his friends dissuaded him from going. His answer was that he was born, not for himself, but for his country. In the autumn of 1514, he set out on his journey, but was obliged by increasing sickness to stop for some days at Dunfermline. There he made his will, and bequeathed his whole effects for the benefit of his college and the bridge of Dee, and to those of his friends who stood most in need of his assistance. He then proceeded southwards, and came to Edinburgh. On the sixth day after his arrival the disease became violent, and the physicians were unable to give him

¹ Bocce, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, pp. 69, 70, 76, 77.

² *Ibid.* pp. 72, 73. In a letter addressed to Pope Leo X., probably by the queen dowager (*Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 184, 185), a different account is given. It is there stated that Bishop Elphinstone had agreed to accept the primacy; and that he had consented to the translation of Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, to Aberdeen, that diocese thenceforth to be free from all subordination to St. Andrews, and subject immediately to the apostolic see. Whether this statement be correct or not, it is certain that the contemplated arrangements never took place.

any relief. On the following day, however, he went to chapel as usual, and received the Communion. He was then led to his chamber, and slept for a short time. In the evening he was able to sup with some of the nobles who came to visit him, and who marked with uneasiness the great change in his countenance. The disease increased during the night, and in the morning his friends gathered round his bed. Some of them exhorted him to be of good courage, and all would yet be well. He answered: "I look for health which shall never end; henceforth earthly cares are over. As I have lived to this day, so would I die—a Christian." He was asked where he would wish to be buried. He answered: "I have committed my soul to God; bury my body where you will." They requested to know whether he had any commands for his absent friends. "May it fare well with them," he said, "I go to a happier home." He departed on the twenty-fifth day of October, 1514. His body was carried to Aberdeen, and interred before the high altar of his college chapel. His friend and biographer Boece relates that his pastoral staff of silver, which was borne in the funeral procession, was accidentally broken; that part of it fell into the grave; and that a voice at the same time was heard saying, "Let thy mitre, William, be buried with thee."¹ The monumental canopy and effigy in brass which once adorned his tomb have long since been removed, but a plain stone of black marble still marks the spot where our great bishop reposes.

On the death of Bishop Elphinstone, James Ogilvie, professor of civil law in the University of Aberdeen, was named to the see by the regent, the Duke of Albany; and Robert Foreman, Dean of Glasgow, received an appointment to it by the provision of Pope Leo X.; while, at the same time, the Earl of Huntly urged the canons to elect his kinsman, Alexander

¹ Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 73-77. *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. p. 249. *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 616. For a long time it was thought that the historical collections of Bishop Elphinstone in the Bodleian Library were of great value. Mr. Cosmo Innes states that "they are now known to be little more than chronicles or chronological notices, taken from Fordun and his continuator, with some valuable copies of original papers." He adds, "a considerable number of Elphinstone's MSS. are still in the library of his own university at Aberdeen; but they seem to be entirely law notes and commentaries."—(Preface to the *Chartulary of Aberdeen*, p. li.)

Gordon, Precentor of Murray. After some delay, both Ogilvie and Foreman resigned their claims, and Gordon was chosen bishop. Alexander Gordon was elect and unconfirmed on the eighteenth of March, 1516, and, as he was in bad health from the time of his appointment, it is probable that he was never consecrated. He died on the thirtieth of June, 1518.¹

The next bishop was Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Dean of Murray. We find him holding the see in 1519.²

John Fraser was still Bishop of Ross in December, 1506. He died in the following year, and was succeeded by Robert Cockburn.³

Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, died on the seventeenth of June, 1518. His successor, also named Andrew Stewart, was brother to the Earl of Atholl, and had formerly claimed the see of Dunkeld in opposition to Bishop Douglas.⁴

William Meldrum was still Bishop of Brechin in August, 1512. He was succeeded by John Hepburn, who is styled Bishop of Brechin in 1517, but who was not consecrated till 1523.⁵

James Chisholm continued to fill the see of Dunblane during the whole period embraced in this chapter.⁶

Andrew, Bishop of Orkney, was succeeded by Edward Stewart, whom we find holding the see in 1513, and who is commemorated by Boece as a lover of literature, and as having consecrated the collegiate church or chapel of King's College, Aberdeen. A bishop, named Thomas, is said to have held the see after Bishop Stewart.⁷

¹ Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, pp. 62, 77-79. *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 220. *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. p. 249, and preface, pp. li. lii. I have taken it for granted that the date "18th March, 1515," as quoted in the preface, applies to the historical year 1516.

² Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, p. 79. *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.* vol. ii. pp. 101, 102, and preface, pp. lii. liii.

³ *Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 375. Leslie, p. 332. Keith's Catalogue, p. 190.

⁴ Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 93, 94. Keith's Catalogue, p. 215.

⁵ *Regist. Episcopat. Brechinen.* vol. ii. p. 298, and preface, p. xii. *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, p. 423.

⁶ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 178, 179.

⁷ Boece, *Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, pp. 67, 68. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 281. Keith's Catalogue, p. 223.

Robert Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, was also commendator of the abbey of Jedburgh. He died, while on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1508.¹

Archbishop Blackader's successor was James Beaton, Bishop-elect of Galloway, who was postulated to the see of Glasgow on the ninth of November, 1508, and consecrated at Stirling on the fifteenth of April, 1509. According to the custom, now almost universal, he held the abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning in commendam with the archbishopric. He was also chancellor of the kingdom, and was deeply implicated in the civil contests which arose during the minority of James V. The rebuke which he is said to have received from Bishop Douglas of Dunkeld, when it was discovered that he wore armour beneath his episcopal robes, is well known. On this occasion the archbishop escaped from his feudal adversaries only by taking refuge in the church of the Black Friars.²

When the deanery of the Chapel Royal was annexed to the bishopric of Galloway, George Vaus, as already mentioned, assumed the title of Bishop of Candida Casa, and of the Chapel Royal at Stirling. In 1508, that prelate was succeeded by James Beaton, who had been provost of Bothwell, and prior of the cathedral church of Whithorn, and afterwards abbot of Dunfermline. On the translation of Beaton to Glasgow, David Arnot, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was appointed Bishop of Galloway, and received also the abbacy of Tungland in commendam.³

John, Bishop of Argyll, was succeeded by David Hamilton, whom we find holding the see in March, 1504, and in February, 1522. He was also commendator of the abbeys of Dryburgh and Glenluce.⁴

¹ *Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen.* p. 616. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 273. *Leslie*, p. 335. *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 94, 95.

² Preface to the *Chartulary of Glasgow*, p. li. *Keith's Catalogue*, pp. 255, 266. *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 94, 95.

³ *Keith's Catalogue*, pp. 255, 277, 278. *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 95.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 273, 281. *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 142. *Keith's Catalogue*, pp. 288, 289. *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

John, Bishop of the Isles, was succeeded by George Hepburn, Abbot of Arbroath, and treasurer of Scotland. Bishop Hepburn was consecrated in 1511, and held in commendam not only the abbacy of Iona, which was permanently annexed to the see of the Isles, but also his former abbacy of Arbroath. Although a real, not a titular bishop, he accompanied the king in his invasion of England, and fell with him at Flodden. No other bishop of the Isles is mentioned till February, 1525, when John is styled elect of that diocese.¹

¹ *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, p. 407. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 288. *Crawford's Officers of State*, pp. 368, 369. *Keith's Catalogue*, pp. 305, 306.

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